

PEACE NEWS

No. 124

London, October 29, 1938

2d

A WAR HAS BEEN STOPPED

Public Affairs COMMENTARY

CONSCRIPTION

MR. DUFF COOPER, having just resigned his Cabinet position, is perhaps in the best position to know the trend of thought of the present government on the question of "national service."

Writing in the *London Evening Standard*, he admits that there are difficulties with regard to conscription, the first and most obvious of which is that the Prime Minister has promised "not to introduce it in peace time during the life of the present Parliament." He goes on to say:

But such a pledge can in no way preclude the Government from recommending a different policy when next they appeal to the electorate. Nor is there any reason why, during the months that divide them from that appeal, they should not prepare the public mind for such a policy and prepare the machinery to put it in force.

Here, surely, is warning enough. As far as this ex-Cabinet Minister is concerned, the next election will be fought on the conscription issue. Where in this democracy of ours are the opponents of conscription to find their constitutional expression?

The only party that could and should take up the championship of democracy is silent and acquiescent. Not a single leader of that party has taken up the issue as one of first principles. When Mr. Hore-Belisha speaks of "arrangements for the diversion of skilled labour" there are signs of restiveness in trade union circles, but even this has not yet found expression in Labour Party utterances.

It seems as if the battle for freedom is going to be lost by default because those millions who looked to the Labour Party as a peace party find that they have been mistaken and are left no time to make their views felt in other ways.

There is little time left for those who feel that peace and democracy are worth preserving and extending, to take stock of the situation and take up the challenge. The future of British democracy now rests with the pacifist movement.

NATIONAL REGISTRATION

MR. DUFF COOPER makes it quite clear that the first step to conscription will be national registration.

(Continued on back page.)

War Can Be Abolished BY THE PEOPLE

DISARMAMENT can be achieved, because if you can stop a war you can abolish armaments. The statesmen of Europe heard your voice and dared not disobey. Complete the job you began so well in September and work ceaselessly for world disarmament—disarmament and justice.

THE above consists of extracts from a new leaflet published by the Peace Pledge Union. A million copies are being printed and pacifists all over the country are urged to use it to make clear the lesson of the recent crisis. (Copies are obtainable now from the Peace Pledge Union, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1, for 2s. 6d. per 1,000, plus 1s. postage.)

Besides making the people aware of the tremendous power for peace that is in their hands, pacifist activities all over the country are being directed toward showing along what lines constructive action for peace must be taken.

This constructive action may be summed up in the words of George Lansbury at the Parliamentary Pacifist Group's convention in Leeds on Saturday:

The pacifist wants the world to accept co-operative planning instead of competitive killing . . . The need is for the world to share the world markets and wealth.

EVILS OF EMPIRE

Other points from speakers at the convention were:

Mrs. Margery South: The pacifist must make every effort to prevent war. must be pacifist in his speech, must be well-informed, must use all his existing liberties to further the cause.

Mrs. Eleanor Barton: We should accept other countries' disarmament offers, and test their sincerity. We should ensure that representatives to future disarmament conferences are imbued with a genuine belief in the peace ideal.

J. A. Aitken: Religious, political, and trade union circles today are playing about with the idea of a national register. The only type of Christianity that will ultimately overthrow fascism and imperialism is pacifist.

A. W. Hodges: We must work hard for our ideals. ARP led to the national register, and the national register will lead to conscription.

James H. Hudson: It was clear in the Czech crisis that when all the nations, with all their armaments, faced the abyss, they dared not plunge. The British Empire has committed all the crimes for which today we condemn Italy

and Germany . . . We must do unto others as we would they should do unto us, and work for a fairer distribution of raw materials.

George Lansbury: The world today is facing the results of the evils of empire, and must learn that advantages are of no reality if gained at the expense of morality and religion. . . . The great ones of the earth are nearly always wrong, and the common people must attempt to assert themselves.

WORLD CONFERENCE URGED

A resolution passed at a conference of the West Kent Region of the Peace Pledge Union last Saturday and sent to candidates in the Dartford by-election and to MPs in the district, urged

a wholehearted support by the people of this country of any proposals for bringing together all nations to secure the removal of territorial and other grievances; it therefore recommends the early consideration of the Van Zeeland Report.

Recommending the calling of a world conference together with a preparatory conference, a resolution passed by the Manchester and Salford Joint Peace Committee added that the committee, believing that both conferences will have the greatest chance of success if they are convened by the Government of a great Power outside Europe, begs the Government of the USA to take the responsibility of issuing the appropriate invitation.

The North Wales Committee of *Heddychwyr Cymru* (Peace Pledge Union) has sent letters to Mr. Neville Chamberlain and to President Roosevelt, in each case thanking them for their efforts during the crisis and urging them to use their influence in insisting upon the calling of a world conference.

Members of the Chertsey Congregational Church have issued two leaflets, one addressed to the Prime Minister personally and another more general leaflet, both urging that Mr. Chamberlain should sign with all nations of the world a similar declaration to that signed with Herr Hitler. They point out that it is "highly possible that at the moment the nations of the world, having so recently passed through a very serious crisis, would be willing to sign such a declaration."

Labour Men Oppose Conscription

"Most strenuous opposition to the proposed national service register" was offered in a manifesto issued by a group of 49 Labour supporters—which consisted mostly of candidates, but included several MPs—issued on Tuesday.

The manifesto stated:

This scheme, for some time past advocated by reactionary elements, can only mean the thin end of a wedge terminating in conscription for everyone.

Mr. J. F. Horrabin and Mr. D. M. Fraser were included among the organizers.

Editor's Point of View

NATIONAL SERVICE— FOR WHAT?

By HUMPHREY S. MOORE

EVERY day now press and politicians are insisting that we must have "some form of national service."

What lies behind that vague and beautiful phrase we shall know soon enough—probably not later than the first days of the new session of Parliament. To wait till then to form any sort of opinion on the subject or to take any decision on how to meet it would be absolutely fatal.

To come to a hasty or too rigid conclusion in advance of official information is not only undesirable but virtually impossible. But to make that an excuse for standing idly by is to create the ideal condition for the success of the propaganda now going on to prepare our minds for the measures that are contemplated to prepare practically our whole lives for war.

For those who are bound to oppose any preparation for war there is greater danger in delay in that they will find themselves in the position of having to start from scratch to explain their position to a public whose mind is already prepared to accept any measure the Government may offer as service and anything contrary to that as disservice.

★

WHAT, then, may we expect of "some form of national service"?

There are four main things to be considered:

1. The steps leading up to it.
2. The actual nature of the "service."
3. The method of carrying it out.
4. The purpose of it.

★

1. WHEN the propaganda has done its work it is practically certain that we shall be presented—presumably in Parliament in the first instance—with a scheme for a national register.

In plain words, as George Lansbury has said, we are all to be ticketed and docketed, everything that can be known about us is to be known, and we are to be told what will be our place and who will give us our orders in certain circumstances.

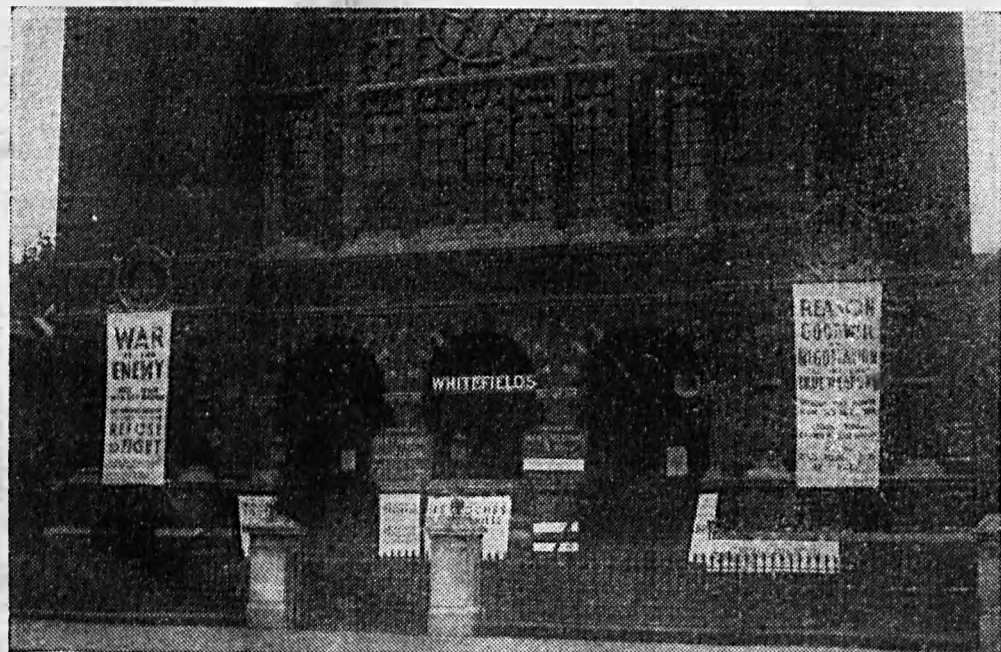
In more precise words, all men and women will be called upon to give such information about themselves as their professions, ages, special qualifications, health, property likely to be of public use, and possibly be presented with a list of things they might do, and even be asked if they have any preference.

★

2. WHAT those things are likely to be is scarcely less certain, though propagandists like Mr. Winston Churchill are not prepared to suggest even a limit to them. Informing us (in his broadcast to America) that Britain "will decree national service upon her citizens," he adds that the British people will face "whatever may be coming."

So long ago as September 29 *The Times* was quite precise about this. It gave a list "for the guidance of any persons who may not be clear how to join the form of national service for which they are best fitted."

Taking for granted the Army, Navy, and Air Force, it listed fifteen organizations (some of them containing various branches) in which people could join and which involved acting as officers, electricians, air pilots, special constables, police, air raid wardens, decontaminators, ambulance drivers, messengers, firemen, nurses, and in a number of other capacities including



WHITEFIELD'S CENTRAL MISSION, Tottenham Court Road, London, where these banners are exhibited, has been a centre of strong peace preaching ever since the days of Charles Silvester Horne, its first superintendent.

During the last eleven years the ministry of the Rev. Albert D. Belden has made it a centre of pacifist teaching and Christian socialism, together with a firm loyalty to the constructive policies of the League of Nations.

The two banners will be lent to Peace Pledge Union branches at 5s. per week the two, carriage to be paid by the borrowers. Applications to the Rev. Belden at the above address.

even as cooks, clerks, telegraphists, and storekeepers.

★

3. HOW, having registered your desire—or at least capabilities—to do any of the above will that desire be put into effect, or those capabilities given expression?

We may perhaps dismiss as mere private opinions Mr. Beverley Baxter's "It is for the nation to order and we shall obey," Lord Austin's "Only by compulsory national service could we demonstrate to the world our determination to resist." After all, so great an authority even on military efficiency as Captain B. H. Liddell Hart has continually opposed compulsion both from the purely military point of view and on the ground of "the spiritual folly of going totalitarian, in an effort to stand against totalitarianism."

Particularly in the light of such an authoritative opinion, we may even quiet our own natural fears of the early introduction of conscription.

What we cannot do is to shut our eyes to the obvious fact that the register itself must be compulsory. Otherwise it would be meaningless, if only because people can already, voluntarily, not only inform the authorities of what they are fitted for but even do most such jobs.

Whether any (and what) sort of compulsion will be needed to put people into the jobs they have registered themselves as fit for is largely an academic question. For one thing, there are a variety of ways of getting a person to do a thing which may not be called compulsion only because it needs a positive (if not conscientious) objection, as well as courage, to stand out against it.

There are the sanctions of ostracism and loss of one's job. Perhaps that is what the Prime Minister's closest colleague (Sir John Simon) meant when he said, in Sheffield, that "compulsion is not the same thing as organization."

More obvious forms of compulsion would only be needed—but in such an event they would certainly be needed—if there were anything like a large or determined body of opposition.

★

4. BUT infinitely more important than the steps leading up to national service or the nature of the service itself, or even of the method of carrying it out, is the purpose underlying it. If for no other reason, it is paramount because it determines every one of those things.

And here it is at once most tempting and most fatal to "wait and see," to hope for and believe the best, and to use innocent-looking words like the Archbishop of Canterbury's "We must look to the Government to lead the people to gird up its loins in the defence of our security, and for the enlisting of all the people in some form of national service." Let us know—and ourselves say—plainly what is meant by "defence of our security" and for what we are to serve.

Perhaps the clearest indication yet given with any degree of authority on this question of the purpose of national service was that given in *The Times* last Saturday. Referring to a letter from Sir George Shee in the previous day's issue, the leading article asserted that not one of the advantages which he claimed for "a form of compulsory national service necessary to create a strong and trained reserve behind the Regular Forces of the Crown" (our italics) could be challenged. The first of those "advantages" was that it would give us "the numbers which are required to meet the dangers to which our far-flung Empire exposes us" and which would stand "behind the Navy, the Army, and the Air Force."

The Times added the "advantage" that the War Minister had called for—a means of ensuring a bigger output of war material. But it became even more explicit:

What the Government want to know, first and foremost, is whether they can man the essential civilian services, which they must maintain over and above the fighting Services. What the public want to know is where to go and what to do on what will be for them, just as much as for the fighting forces, the day of mobilization (our italics).

In other words, as Lieut.-Gen. Gerald F. Ellison put it in a letter in *The Times* on October 14, "Quite clearly, therefore, it behoves us in the next war to be the bombers and not the bombed."

★

ONE thing the propaganda for national service would have us believe now is that people want it.

The News Chronicle last week made a great fuss of the fact that a "nation-wide" survey of public opinion conducted by the British Institute of Public Opinion had revealed a widespread demand for a national register. A writer to the *Manchester*

Guardian whose friends are "chiefly Non-conformist and Liberal, but including a large group of working folk of unknown political and religious views," was concerned to let us know that they "all think that there should be national service (compulsory) for ARP."

That is not the slightest justification for it. For what the opinion indicates is shown by the same correspondent, when he adds that "we are all of opinion that when, at last, we defy Hitler we shall..."

In other words—thanks to the gigantic propaganda machine (never mind whether it was deliberate or not)—the people have been convinced, if they were not so already, that war is not only inevitable but near enough to start doing something to protect themselves against its worst effects.

It is another indication that the purpose behind national service is to prepare to wage a war that cannot be less disastrous than anything mankind has known.

★

AND yet we have only just experienced the most striking evidence we could wish for that the great mass of the people know in their hearts that war is utterly futile and the most striking proof that they do not want it.

Is there any possibility even now of removing at least some of the sense of inevitability that has led people who neither want war nor even have any real faith in it right into the war machine—or at least made them ready for it?

Merely to repeat, like parrots, that war is not inevitable is now useless. The very people who are now preparing us, on the real ground (which they will nevertheless still dispute) that war is both inevitable and near enough to prepare for, have been the most persistent in denying that they regard it so. Something more shocking is needed, something that will show people that we really believe war is not inevitable—just as they, without saying it, show they believe that it is.

What better than preparing people now for peace?

★

IF to "face things as they are" is realism, this is realistic.

If we can make provision, as the Minister of Health has taken it upon himself to do, for hospital accommodation for those injured in air raids, we can make provision for accommodating those who, at this minute, are suffering while they wait for a vacant bed—not to mention for more adequate accommodation for those who could well do with it.

If the Manchester Borough Labour Party can advocate the expenditure of £7,250,000 on schemes including the evacuation of 100,000 children, blind persons, old-age pensioners, invalids, and mothers to places where they will be safe from war dangers, they can stump their constituencies with a demand for a similar expenditure to take such people away from present dangers to their wellbeing.

It is true they point out that the tunnels they propose as shelters could be adapted "in peace time" for relieving traffic problems. But people are suffering now—19 Britons are killed every day—as a result of "traffic problems."

★

THE possibilities are endless: the examples given do not touch on the ordinary everyday needs of the people of our country, let alone the tremendous amount of international service that needs to be done.

The Prime Minister told the House of Commons that he knew there was "a strong desire among the people to record their readiness to serve their country wherever and however their services can be most useful."

Do we need any Institute of Public Opinion to tell us that that desire would be stronger if the people were told that their services could most usefully be directed toward improving their own social security, the welfare of their fellows in other lands, and so their relations together?

Such a campaign would be a real guarantee of peace (because peace would be both the end and the means). To be active in it is also the strongest ground for absolute refusal of national service for war preparation.

To avoid delay,

PLEASE NOTE

that on and after

Saturday, November 5, 1938,

the address of "Peace News" will be
3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

Czechoslovakia and Non-Violence

By M. K. GANDHI

Under the heading "Logical Consequence" the following article appeared in Mr. Gandhi's weekly paper, "Harijan," on October 8.

ONE must feel happy that the danger of war has been averted for the time being. Is the price paid likely to be too great? Is it likely that honour has been sold? Is it a triumph for organized violence? Has Herr Hitler discovered a new technique of organizing violence which enables him to gain his end without shedding blood?

I do not profess to know European politics. But it does appear to me that small nationalities cannot exist in Europe with their heads erect. They must be absorbed by their larger neighbours. They must become vassals.

Europe has sold her soul for the sake of seven days' earthly existence. The peace Europe gained at Munich is a triumph of violence; it is also its defeat. If England and France were sure of victory, they would certainly have fulfilled their duty of saving Czechoslovakia or of dying with it.

But they quailed before the combined violence of Germany and Italy. But what have Germany and Italy gained? Have they added anything to the moral wealth of mankind?

In penning these lines my concern is not

HOW YOU CAN ALLEVIATE CZECH DISTRESS

BESIDES contributing to the fund opened by the War Resisters' International to enable a number of Czech refugee children to be maintained in a home in the country outside Prague, pacifists can help to alleviate distress in Czechoslovakia through a pacifist fund for Czech relief, similar to other public funds to help Czechoslovakia, to be administered by the Sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union. Contributions should be sent to the Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, marked "PPU Czech Fund."

Meanwhile the fund for the refugee children opened by the WRI still needs contributions, which should be sent to H. Runham Brown, War Resisters' International, Czech Fund, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex.

29 Children Still in Need

LOLA ROMAGUERA of the War Resisters' International Spanish Children's Home at Prats-de-Mollo, France, has had a wonderful outfit presented to her in response to the appeal in *Peace News*.

There are 29 other children badly in need of clothing. Their names and measurements are given below. Who will help to clothe them?

If you cannot manage a complete outfit, individual garments will be very welcome. A few have already been received.

GIRLS

Name	Length of foot	Age	Height
1. Maria Alvarez ..	9½	12	57
2. Pilar Budria ..	8½	12	53
3. Africa Alvarez ..	8½	9	51
4. Francisca Calahorra ..	7½	5	44
5. Blanca Romaguera ..	7½	6	44½
6. Aurora Alvarez ..	9½	17	59
7. Carmen Calahorra ..	10	12	58½
8. Elena Budria ..	9½	16	60
9. Irma Brocca ..	10	16	63
10. Coucha Oca ..	9½	16	61½
11. Santiago Calahorra ..	10	13	58

BOYS

Name	Length of foot	Age	Height
1. Jorge Planas ..	10	11	59
2. German Monters ..	8½	10	51½
3. Gregorio Calahorra ..	9	8	52
4. Jaime Planas ..	10	12	58½
5. Tomas Guillen ..	7	5	41½
6. Miguel Romaguera ..	7½	6	44½
7. Eduardo Schauer ..	8	10	48
8. Luis Schauer ..	10½	11	66½
9. Santos Vazquez ..	9	9	54
10. Vicente Budria ..	8	10	49
11. Vicente Calahorra ..	9	10	51½
12. Antonio Alvarez ..	9½	12	57½
13. Jaime Alvarez ..	8½	9	49½
14. Manuel Moreno ..	9	10	55
15. Armando Grediaga ..	9½	9	56
16. Helio Brocca ..	9	8	51
17. Fernando Oca ..	10½	14	65
18. Gustavo Grediaga ..	10½	15	65½

Please send your gifts direct to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex

with the great Powers. Their height dazes me. Czechoslovakia has a lesson for me and us in India. The Czechs could not have done anything else when they found themselves deserted by their two powerful allies.

And yet I have the hardihood to say that if they had known the use of non-violence as a weapon for the defence of national honour, they would have faced the whole might of Germany with that of Italy thrown in.

They would have spared England and France the humiliation of suing for a peace which was no peace; and to save their honour they would have died to a man without shedding the blood of the robber.

I must refuse to think that such heroism, or call it restraint, is beyond human nature. Human nature will only find itself when it fully realizes that to be human it has to cease to be beastly or brutal.

Though we have the human form, without the attainment of the virtue of non-violence we still share the qualities of our remote reputed ancestor the ourang-outang.

FIGHTING FOR LIBERTY

These are not idle words I am writing. Let the Czechs know that the Congress Working Committee wrung itself with pain while their doom was being decided. The pain was quite selfish in a way. But on that account it was the more real.

For though numerically we are a big nation, in terms of Europe, i.e., in terms of organized scientific violence, we are smaller than Czechoslovakia. Our liberty is not merely threatened, we are fighting to regain it.

The Czechs are fully armed; we are wholly unarmed. And so the committee sat to deliberate what its duty was by the Czechs, what part the Congress was to play if the war cloud burst on us.

Were we to bargain with England for our liberty and appear to befriend Czechoslovakia; or were we to live up to the creed of non-violence and say in the hour of trial for afflicted humanity that, consistently with our creed, we could not associate ourselves with war even though it might ostensibly be for the defence of Czechoslovakia whose very existence was threatened for no fault of hers, or for the only fault that she was too small to defend herself single-handed?

The Working Committee had almost come to the conclusion that it would deny itself the opportunity of striking a bargain with England but would make its contribution to the world peace, to the defence of Czechoslovakia and to India's freedom by declaring to the world its action that the way of peace with honour did not lie through the mutual slaughter of the innocents, but that it lay only and truly through the practice of organized non-violence even unto death.

THE LOGICAL STEP

And this was but the logical and natural step the Working Committee could have taken, if it was to prove true to its creed. If India could gain her freedom through non-violence, as Congressmen are to believe they can, she could also defend her freedom by the same means, and hence a fortiori could a smaller nation like Czechoslovakia.

I do not know what actually the Working Committee would have done if the war had come. But the war is only postponed. During the breathing time, I present the way of non-violence for acceptance by the Czechs.

They do not yet know what is in store for them. They can lose nothing by trying the way of non-violence. The fate of Republican Spain is hanging in the balance. So is that of China.

If in the end they all lose, they will do so not because their cause is not just, but because they are less skilled in the science of destruction or because they are undermanned.

What would Republican Spain gain if it had Franco's resources, or China if she had Japan's skill in war, or the Czechs if they had the skill of Herr Hitler?

I suggest that if it is brave, as it is, to die to a man fighting against odds, it is braver still to refuse to fight and yet to refuse to yield to the usurper.

If death is a certainty in either case, is it not nobler to die with the breast bared to the enemy without malice against him within?

PEOPLES' WILL FOR PEACE

Still a Powerful Factor in Germany and Italy

THE strong desire for peace encountered in Germany and Italy is the chief feature in the following accounts of their experiences abroad written by two members of the Peace Pledge Union. One has just travelled across Germany to Eger, in Sudetenland; the other mixed with Germans and Italians in Italy during the period of suspense before the Munich Agreement.

GERMANS THINK HITLER MEANS PEACE

TRAVELLING for a week, I crossed Germany from Aachen to Eger, spending each night in a different town. It was within a week of the crisis, before emotional life had quite returned to normal.

Outwardly there were far fewer signs of war preparation than in this country.

A small number of direction signs to air raid shelters were to be seen in most towns. But they were so few that it seems reasonable to assume that the average citizen had what was considered adequate protection on the premises in which he worked and lived.

On the other hand, gas masks did not seem to have been provided even in a town so near the frontier as Cologne. In open spaces in Koblenz there were very large wooden notice boards bearing the reminder that "the readiness for sacrifice is each person's most sacred duty."

Here and there were small posters asking for Red Cross volunteers. I saw no trenches or sandbags, except at Cologne Cathedral, where there was a small number possibly containing sand but more probably not, as men were at work on the building.

IN SUDETENLAND

Eger is a poor sort of town in Sudetenland with a number of very attractive but shabby old houses. Elsewhere I have never seen a German child in dirty, torn clothes, and begging; I saw more than one in Eger.

Everything in the town suggested that the people had grounds for complaint, but how they will like the process of being

Lest We Forget

WRITING, in the Monthly Calendar of the Presbyterian Great Meeting, Baines' Lane, Hincley, of a holiday spent in Germany, the Rev. G. Price-Jones referred to the genuine friendship he met.

"They criticize themselves," he added.

"An ex-Service man said to me, 'A Fatherland that can forget the blood that has already been spilt is not in its right mind.'"

"Is it possible that we, too, need to remember this?"

"tidied up" remains to be seen. No time is being lost by the Germans; everywhere there were notices, ordering the resumption of work and speaking of the necessity of sparing no effort in reconstructing the industry of the country.

NO DESIRE FOR WAR

I had conversations with a variety of people in trains, hotels, shops, and restaurants, and found not merely that they had no desire whatever for war, but that they realized that in modern war not even the victor gains anything worth while.

It is significant that they seemed very fully aware of their vulnerability and the fact that for the mass of the people there is no adequate protection against air raids. But, apart from this, the sufferings of the last war are so vividly remembered that the thought of facing an augmented repetition is intolerable.

The only difference I found was in the degrees of faith in Herr Hitler. One woman said: "If one has such faith in the Fuehrer as we have one is not afraid." A man told me that he had a bet on that there would be no war because he knew the Fuehrer

did not want war, and he did not think it likely their other leaders did either.

His children were at school in England, and during the crisis his daughter had written to say they were being removed to Scotland for safety. The situation was ironic to a degree, but it shows an amazing faith in his leader, for the man in question was obviously a devoted father and intelligent.

There were many other people, however, who suffered great anxiety and who did not get beyond a fervent hope "that the Fuehrer would put everything right."

BLUFF?

Hitler knows that he holds the great mass of the people through their affection for him and their trust in him. This could not survive the disaster of another war. Fantastic as it may seem, the whole business suggests a magnificently contrived piece of bluff. How can it be possible to embark on a totalitarian war with an unwilling if passive civil population who look upon it as the major calamity?

For me the net result of what I have seen and heard is the greatly strengthened conviction that war, at least between the great nations of Western Europe, is no longer a probability.

They will still lie, steal and cheat; Czechoslovakia will not be the only example of a raw deal. Struggle is inherent in the nature of things and for long it will be struggle on low moral levels, but this particular moment in history, infinitely far as it is from the golden age we look for, is probably the crossing of a watershed, the passing in time from one epoch to another.

E. M. D. B.

"Italy United in Distaste for War"

By BARBARA FARRELL

THIS is a short account of the way in which four ordinary English folk spent the anxious time of the crisis with some of the ordinary folk of Italy and Germany.

We left England for Italy on the day of Mr. Chamberlain's first visit to Germany.

We travelled third class on the trains, and on our outward journey we visited Turin, Florence, Rome, Naples, and finally Capri. When we were in the towns we used the tram to take us to the places of interest, and we also explored all quarters of the towns on foot. I mention these things to make it clear that we mixed with all kinds of people. We can speak a little French but no Italian.

WANTED JUSTICE

The trains and hotels were crowded with German holiday-makers who came mostly from the middle and northern parts of Germany. Directly we entered a compartment occupied by Germans we were saluted and asked whether we spoke German.

On our regretful answer of "No, alas," the Germans immediately made conversation with us in all the English they knew, and it was usually enough to enable us to talk easily.

We discussed many things with them very freely and in good part, including colonies and the Jewish question. We found them narrow in their outlook and determined to get what they considered justice, but anxious to be friends with England and hating the idea of war.

Often, when we were putting forward the theories and solutions of the Peace Pledge Union, we had the same criticisms from the German listeners as we have from our English ones.

We arrived at Rapallo on the Riviera two days before the agreement was made at Munich.

There were sixty Germans and four Italians staying at our hotel, and we found ourselves in



Henri and Constant Spiessens

a strained atmosphere. They were not at all unfriendly toward us, but the political situation was causing them grave anxiety.

The papers gave quiet statements, which we read with the aid of dictionaries, and the whole of Italy seemed united in distaste for war. There did not seem to be so great an anxiety among the Italians as among the Germans.

"ALL RIGHT NOW"

The third morning when we came down to breakfast we stood amazed.

Instead of the absent-minded *Guten Morgen*, which had previously greeted our arrival, we were surrounded by people who shook us by the hand and told us "It is all right now, England and Germany are for ever friends." We did not know what had happened until someone explained in English.

The Italian proprietor of the hotel came up to us and invited us all to be his guests at a party to be given by him that evening to celebrate the peace.

At the party that evening, attended by some 75 people, the proceedings opened with the German, Italian, and British national anthems, and a speech (which was translated to us) of praise of the four leaders with especial mention of our Prime Minister for his lead. The speech finished with hopes for a future of understanding and good will between the great European nations. Standing, we raised our glasses and drank together to "The Peace."

This little incident convinced me more than ever that no ordinary people of any country have any wish for war.

Other News in Brief

APPEAL FOR IMPRISONED PACIFISTS

AN appeal for amnesty, signed by eminent Americans, has been forwarded to the Belgian Premier by the War Resisters' League and the Women's Peace Union of the USA on behalf of Henri and Constant Spiessens, 24- and 21-year-old war resisters at present in prison in Antwerp as conscientious objectors. An appeal signed by four members of the House of Lords and 32 MPs was forwarded to the Belgian Premier some months ago, with a covering letter from George Lansbury.

FRENCH PACIFIST ARRESTED

Louis Loréal, editor of the French pacifist weekly, *La Patrie Humaine*, has been sent to prison to serve a sentence of 6 months passed in 1935 as a result of an article published in 1934.

Before this sentence could be enforced at that time, Loréal had to serve a sentence imposed for another "offence." Further, he was sentenced last year to four months' imprisonment for publication of an article regarded as incitement to disaffection. An appeal against this was recently rejected. Consequently he has now to serve the six months of the 1934 sentence and the four months of last year's with a remission of two). Protests have already been made against his arrest.

INDIAN VIEW OF PALESTINE

The All-India Congress Committee, sitting at Delhi, adopted a resolution protesting "against the reign of terror that has now almost assumed the form of war between the British and Arabs of Palestine."

The resolution added "that Britain would be well advised to revoke its present policy and to leave Jews and Arabs amicably to settle the issues between them," and appealed to Jews "not to take shelter behind British imperialism."

FLOGGING IN SOUTH AFRICA

An official circular to South African Public Prosecutors, dealing with punishment for stock thieves, asking them to press for severer sentences, and adding:

It has been represented to the Minister that detention in gaol is not a sufficient deterrent to a native, and that lashes are the only adequate punishment for stock theft.

is described as "deplorable" in the October issue of *The Anti-Slavery Reporter and Aborigines' Friend* (published by the Anti-Slavery and Aborigines' Protection Society, 51 Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Road, London, S.W.1, price 6d.).

The first number has just appeared of *Die Zukunft* a weekly German anti-fascist paper, published from 33, Palace Gate, London, W.3, price 3d. It is hoped that copies will be sold in Germany itself.

PEACE NEWS FOR INVESTORS

High dividends are no compensation for the worries attendant upon speculative investments. The peace of mind that can only be yours when you know your savings to be safe is far preferable to profits that are hazardous.

St. Pancras Building Society offers you an investment that is both safe and lucrative. Your money will earn four per cent. free of tax, and it can always be withdrawn in full if need arises. Write for the Society's "Guide for Investors."



ST. PANCRAS BUILDING SOCIETY

ST. PANCRAS HOUSE, PARK STREET, LONDON, N.W.1

NEW BOOKS

A SCIENCE OF HISTORY

The Will to Civilization. By John Katz. Secker and Warburg. 12s. 6d.

Reviewed by Nigel Spottiswoode

THE object of this book is to discover a science of history. Its method is two-fold. First to examine any given society at any point in its history and to establish the elements, or as Mr. Katz calls them the "Principles" of civilization; the coexistence of these elements is the necessary and sufficient condition for the existence of a civilization, and as such they are independent of the process of historic change.

These three elements are discovered to be: man, nature, and the civilizational process—which latter refers to the ability of man to control and manipulate nature for his own purpose.

Having defined his terms and the field of his inquiry, Mr. Katz turns to the problem of discovering the principles, if any, of historic change.

This book, then, is primarily interested, not in philosophy, but in the sociological function of the philosophic schools; and not in religion, but in the sociological function of the great churches. It is interested, therefore, in philosophy and religion as institutions, and with the interplay of these institutions with the major institution of the State.

It is in his estimate of the part played by "Universal Churches" and the metaphysical schools, which are their forerunners, which will chiefly interest readers. For the pacifist movement certainly comes within his definition of a Universal Church; it preaches belief in an absolute spiritual value and champions the individual against the State.

Put briefly, Mr. Katz's theory is as follows. The first stage in the development of civilization is the clan in which men combine together for the purpose of exploiting nature for their mutual benefit.

The State develops with the combination of several clans and later becomes an empire with the characteristic subjugation of certain classes and tribes for the benefit of a minority.

During these stages, man is in a state analogous to Blake's "innocence." Religion is expressive of man's faith in civilization and of the unity of man and nature; morals are a pragmatic code for the conduct of members of society.

But the empire is not a stable form of society. The inner contradiction of exploiter and exploited leads sooner or later to its breakdown. And it is at this time that a major change comes over the nature of morals and religion.

Up to this time, religion has been faith in civilization, but if civilization is proved to be perishable, what becomes of religion? Mr. Katz's thesis is that with the breakdown of the first empires—Egyptian, Indian, and Graeco-Roman—man for the first time reached a state of "consciousness."

Religion turned inward. Faith in a demonstrably imperfect civilization gave way to a belief in the spiritual value of the individual. Religion became divorced from the world. Buddhism and Christianity preached another worldliness and scorned the value of mortal life. In the sphere of morals, the loss of faith in civilization produced the schools of metaphysics with their search for the abstractions of absolute values.

It is in the backwash of this period that we now live. The larger part of the Western world is still under the influence of Platonism and Christianity. One of the proofs of the correctness of much of Mr. Katz's analysis is that it gives a clear explanation of the failure of Christianity to influence the social and political world.

For Christianity, especially Protestantism, is essentially unworldly, believing that the things of the world are vanity, and the spirit the only reality.

But Mr. Katz believes that there are signs of a new faith in civilization arising in the

West—the civilization of a world commonwealth. For he holds that Christianity and Buddhism are interim religions, necessary episodes in the trough and swell of the civilizational process; that when Leviathan recovers—and the Leviathan of the future will not be a Mediterranean or western civilization, but a world civilization—men will recover their faith in civilization."

LIFE OF JESUS

Life of Christ. Hall Caine. Collins. 10s. 6d.

This momentous work is the outcome of thirty years study and five visits to Palestine to follow the path trod by Christ from Bethlehem to Calvary.

On the dust cover the publishers express their appreciation of being able to present "what is undoubtedly one of the most important religious works of the century."

That their statement is no exaggeration will be proved by the amount of controversy and criticism which is bound to be aroused by the author's theories about Jesus and the events which surround his life.

"Every age has made the Jesus it wanted," writes Hall Caine in his introduction. "Is it not reasonable to think that in order to make a portrait of Jesus such as the twentieth century wants, we should not add anything but should strip away all accretions of the earlier centuries and get back, if possible, to the naked historical Jesus?"

It was in this spirit that the author embarked on the tremendous task of both tracing through many tragic happenings, the divine life which was lived in Palestine during thirty years, nearly twenty centuries ago and of showing:

that the greatest fact in the story of the human family has not been concerned with its welfare, with the battles it has fought and won, or the empires it has seen rise and fall or with the revelations it has made in the realm of the mind, or the marvellous discoveries it has achieved in the world of nature, but with the development of the human soul from age to age as a seeker after God and, above all, with the silent and perhaps unconscious growth of the Christ in the heart of man—the divine Messianic dream of a deliverer, a Redeemer, a Saviour, which through all the travail of his wanderings, his sufferings, his sins, and his repentance, has gone before him like a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of cloud by day.

The book, therefore, begins not with the birth of Jesus but with the creation—with the birth of the Messianic hope in the human heart with those hopes and fears and visions of primitive man. Likewise it does not end with the story of the Resurrection but with the records of the first missionary journeys.

But although the book purports to have discovered some of the errors and contradictions of the biblical stories, the Bible is in no way discredited for the history of religion, the belief in God and the hope of the Messiah are not built upon doctrine but from human history.

Again the purpose behind this portrait of Christ is

to make every incident illustrate and develop his character; to heighten and deepen the impression of his personality; to show his humanity, his pity, his love, his indignation at wrong, his eagerness to help the weak; to protect the oppressed; to be champion of the poor, the heavily laden, even the sinful. Not to separate him from humanity, but to unite him to it—in his temptations, in his momentary failures, in his ultimate triumphs.

To do this the author has been compelled to break through the legend and interpolation which so often shrouds the truth in a cloud of mystery, he has refused to take anything for granted and in so doing has had to abandon some of those doctrines in which the conservative mind, the die-hard, the fundamentalist seek refuge when the waters of doubt and question trouble them.

But the free spirit cannot be content to accept the authority of dogmatism and in this instance it has arrived at conclusions which will arouse fundamentalist ire.

But for all that has been and will be said against it, this book will make its appeal to those who have been looking for a thoroughgoing rational inquiry about the contents of our Bible for whom it will take on a new meaning and freshen its appeal as a result of this spring cleaning.

J. MANTIP

SOCIAL SERVICE

The Voluntary Citizen. Constance Braithwaite. Methuen. 7s. 6d.

The only obscure thing about this book

is the title. It reminds one of the saying that in Germany, everything which is not prohibited is compulsory.

Similarly, it might be argued, every citizen who is not voluntary is involuntary, which is not true since we are all involuntary citizens in one sense and all voluntary citizens in another, but we cannot be one and not the other.

A more correct title would be the "Volunteering Citizen," since what the author is describing is voluntary unpaid personal service rendered by an individual to other individuals or groups "except that rendered to his family or personal friends."

The book comprises three distinct parts of which the first—an essay in social philosophy—is by far the most interesting, except perhaps to those particularly concerned with information relating to the incomes of charities of the organization of District Nursing.

The arguments in this first section are not always as convincing as they might be; two and a half pages do not provide a very satisfactory analysis of the motives underlying social service. Nevertheless, the author's conclusions would be accepted by most people whose experience has enabled them to observe closely existing social and economic conditions and their effects.

There are two outstanding facts in relation to voluntary social service. The first is that voluntary work in that sphere is not merely a recognized behaviour-pattern for expressing the philanthropic motive; it is an activity primarily directed to the end of removing the most pressing injustices in the life of the community.

The poor are not always with us in order that we may be provided with the opportunity of assisting them: they are with us because our voluntary efforts have not been sufficient to remove the cause of the conditions which create such a class. And for this reason we must be prepared at any moment to cease our voluntary activities when their inadequacy becomes recognized and the possibility of passing them to more resourceful—if less inspiring—bodies arises.

This has been the case in connexion with the distribution of Poor Relief, with education and with medical services (in so far as they go at the present time). As the author concludes, and my own experience confirms, the problem of poverty is insoluble apart from economic conditions in general:

Neither the present nor any possible public or voluntary social services can adequately deal with the unemployed, because the evil lies in the existence of the unemployment and nothing will cure it short of the provision of work and wages.

Secondly, it must be recognized that, apart from the immediate problems of poverty and unemployment, voluntary service has the extremely important task of initiating social services which can be taken over by the public authorities if and when their usefulness justifies such action. This is especially true of those forms of social activity which relate to advances in applied sociology.

The whole history of medical and industrial psychology illustrates the achievement of voluntary effort in translating modern scientific theory into a practical social service. The Child Guidance Clinic Movement, concerned with the "diagnoses and correction of behaviour disorders" in children started as a voluntary undertaking: it is now in the power of any local authority to make it a part of the usual school medical service.

Voluntary service in this sense is the spearhead of social service development; it is the means by which the normal man first becomes aware of the discoveries of scientific thought. This means that a member of the community holding his democratic principles seriously cannot escape the obligation to participate to some extent in voluntary social service experiments whether in the sphere of employment, education, health, psychology, or propaganda.

The experience derived from such work is probably the key to real social revolution, for intimate knowledge of the infinite subtleties of the individual as the unit of society reveals the first psychological truth, which every revolutionary must grasp, that:

*There is no expeditious road
To pack and label men for God,
And send them by the barrel load.*

HUGH BINGHAM

UNCERTAIN CHOICE

Christ or Caesar. By Hugh Black. Hodder and Stoughton. 5s.

This is a very arresting book, written in a conversational yet pungent style.

While it defends democracy and shows how the spirit of our democratic institutions have evolved from, or are attendant upon, Christianity, the author is able to avoid the mistake common to many writers today—that of identifying Christianity with democracy.

Most of the chapters are very good indeed, and a list of their headings will show what ground the author covers. They are: Freedom, Tolerance, the Persecuting Spirit, Conformity, Compromise, Peace and War and Loyalty.

The chapter on peace and war is very disappointing, as the author becomes vague and uncertain. He points out in general terms that there is a difference between the private conduct of a person and that which he is to follow as a member of a corporate body; but the author fails to give any lead whatever, as to what should be done when these two duties conflict.

Similarly, he rejects pacifism on the grounds that he does not think it Christian to pledge oneself to, "meet future historical occasions"; and so his Christian faith topples in ruins. After all, does not every man and woman do this when they promise to love each other in the married state?

The book should be read, however, because it contains some stimulating arguments. Its weakness is found in its attitude toward war, in the subjective approach to his subjects and in a glibness of expression which sometimes covers a deficiency in hard thinking.

R. H. LE MESSURIER

Pamphlets

The Spectacles of Faith. Written and published by A. Ruth Fry. 2d.

This address to the conference of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation which met at Lunteren, Holland, in August, will prove to be a mine of valuable information to those who are frequently called upon to strip "collective security" of the surrounding atmosphere of mysticism into which it escapes from reality and reveal it for what it is really worth.

This new pamphlet, from the pen of Miss Fry, is delightful to read because, as in her others, she never lets a statement pass without supporting it with a mass of evidence, so overwhelming that it cannot be challenged.

The temptation to quote one such illustration is irresistible.

In considering present-day problems we see the widely accepted belief that some nations are actively "criminal," "mad" and outside the pale of reason. Now, on the analogy of individuals how should their punishment be undertaken? Punishment to be satisfactory needs to be administered by an impartial authority and it needs to be suitable to the crime.

What is the impartial authority in the case of the League? Far from being impartial it is a collection of nations who have acted in the same way in times past, but having obtained sufficient possessions, deprecate such procedure.

There is a fable which tells of three burglars going out consecutively at 10, at 12 and at 2 o'clock. The first two obtained considerable success but the third found the valuables had gone and located them in the homes of burglars one and two. So he went to take them thence, but was met with great indignation, for these gentlemen had turned virtuous and were adamant upon the iniquity of burglary.

Miss Fry then proceeds to present the Christian alternative to coercion, emphasizing that the truth, not punishment needs to be of prime importance.

Her experience in international work has enabled her to make valuable suggestions for those whose vocation it is to be ahead of their time, thinking in world terms and planning the world to be.

Force And Failure. A. Ruth Fry. 2d.

At the beginning of this pamphlet Miss Fry recalls

an interesting story told by a distinguished explorer, who spent a couple of years among the so-called savages of the Upper Amazon.

On one occasion he attempted a forced march through the jungle. The party made extraordinary speed for the first two days, but on the third morning, when it was time to start, the leader found all the natives sitting on their haunches, looking very solemn, and making no preparation to leave. "They are waiting," the Chief explained to the explorer, "they cannot move farther until their souls have caught up with their bodies."

The questions which follow are inevitable. "Were these men acting on a truth we have forgotten? Is Europe in chaos because it has neglected to wait for its soul?"

But the pamphlet is not merely a justification for asking these questions. After adducing evidence for the spiritual basis of the universe, the problem which faces mankind today is stated as being man's unwillingness and inability to learn that they must keep the laws of God or perish. He has reached the present impasse in his mental and moral development because he has put his trust in the devil's weapons instead of the laws of Love.

It is this chaos which proves up to the hilt that war and all its ways is the greatest failure the world has ever seen and that pacifism, which involves obedience to the divine laws, far from being impossible, is the only policy which can save the world from suicide.

PEACE BOOK CLUB

Brings you the best in PEACE LITERATURE for 2/6 a month. Write for particulars and a free copy of PEACE BOOK NEWS to the Secretary—PEACE BOOK CLUB, 5, Goodwin's Court, St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C.2

WE left the last article with the comment that there could not be found in the Covenant of the League of Nations any fundamental conceptions governing the relations between nations that could be regarded as providing the basis for a "rule of law."

As a matter of fact there is in the Covenant no statement of any basic law at all, with the exception of that which recognizes the "territorial integrity and existing independence of all the members of the League" in Article 10; and the optional extension of this principle in relation to issues in dispute to States that are not members of the League in Article 17.

There is literally no other legal principle governing international affairs that is enunciated in the Covenant of the League.

In the preamble there are a number of benevolent aspirations, and there is, of course, the provision for the administrative machinery of the League, but there is no statement of any other single principle to govern the organs of the League when there

From Pacifist To Murderess

SENORA CARRAR'S RIFLES. Unity Theatre Club.

Señora Carrar was a sensible woman. Having lost her husband in the civil war, and having thereby found that personal bereavement meant more to her than a cause, however righteous, she was naturally determined to save her two sons from their father's end. Nor would she give up her rifles to add their destructive powers to the bloody agony of war.

But when her elder son, fishing peacefully in the bay, is machined-gunned by an insurgent trawler, her indignation so far outweighs her sorrow that she promptly takes up a rifle and goes out to avenge his death, in what the author doubtless hopes will be a storm of sympathetic applause.

WHERE THE WEAKNESS LIES

From the moral point of view, I felt disinclined to admire her sudden change from pacifist to murderess, and from the dramatic point of view I was not convinced of its probability.

Herein lies the weakness of many "left-wing" plays: the political wish is too often father to the dramatic thought, leading to artificial characterization, arbitrary development of action, and sheer dogmatism in ideas.

This play by Bertold Brecht, for instance, is less of a work of art than mere recruiting propaganda, and I am suspicious of would-be revolutionaries who talk heroically about the Spanish war in terms of other people's lives.

When such glib enthusiasts, safe from reality in their new applause for the old romanticism, themselves march off to the front-line, exulting in their imminent death for a catchword, I will be ready at least to respect them; until then, I question their integrity.

W. H. GELDER

COLONEL BLIMP BUYS A RED TIE

"RIGHT is right, and left is left, and never the twain shall meet" we used to say. But we were wrong. The circle is squared. Communist and empire builder are in accord. Strachey and Duff Cooper, Churchill and Pollitt, they are all comrades in arms, if not in ideology.

What has happened? Have the Blimps turned socialist? Or have the communists gone all patriotic? No! It's just the old story of military strategy. The apologists for war have been proclaiming their devotion to democracies defended by conscripts who are to pull the triggers for collective security.

Stalin may be interested in collective security. He may reasonably be interested in the fate of the Skoda munition works. But it is hardly likely that he is ready to fight for democracy.

Communists have long made up their minds that there must be a day of reckoning between the nazis and themselves. Like the imperialist treaty makers of Versailles, whose arrangements they abominate, the communists thought of Czechoslovakia as a thorn in the side of Germany, as a link between France and her allies on the other side of Germany.

In this link it was not the democratic form of government of Czechoslovakia that mattered, but the munition works of Skoda and the forts on the hills of Bohemia. The communist, certain that Hitler would ultimately attack Russia, preferred to fight immediately with the assistance of the

is a conflict of national interests to be settled.

THE SUBSTITUTE

We have to ask ourselves therefore, how this piece of machinery could conceivably have such a fundamental effect on the relations between States as to achieve the substitution for their reliance on armed force—always in the background even when matters are settled round a diplomatic table—of reason and justice as the means of settling disputes?

"What is justice?" will ask the Government that holds the view that in the staking-out of claims for the control of the territory of the world it has come out rather badly.

The only reply that the League has been in a position to give to that question is that it is just that so far as the disposal of the earth's territories are concerned things should stay as they are.

Such a reply may satisfy the Governments—and apparently the Labour Movement—of great imperialist Powers like Great Britain and France, but it surely shows a lack of imagination to think that it can inspire any enthusiasm in the Governments—or the peoples—of those States which, holding the same views as to what constitutes national greatness as, say, the British Labour Party, the French Socialist Party, and the Dutch Social Democratic Party, nevertheless see themselves cut off from any possibility of colonial expansion.

A BODY OF LAW NEEDED

If peace is to be based on a rule of law in the world it is necessary that there shall be provided not only machinery for the settlement of disputes, but a body of law which shall shirk none of the fundamental issues that must arise in world affairs and which shall be recognized as being founded upon justice by the peoples of the world as a whole.

As one example of this point take the aggression of Italy in Abyssinia. To all but a very few English people what the Italian Government was doing among the Ethiopian people was a monstrous piece of evil. There was no difference in view between the advocates of "collective security" and the pacifists of the Peace Pledge Union on that point.

The Italian workingman was easily conditioned to look at the thing differently, however; and there is really no need to assume that he could only be so conditioned by the suppressive machinery of fascism.

While the discussion of the possibility of the resort to "sanctions" under the League was in progress during the Italo-Abyssinian war one of the Italian papers published a

Czechs than later on without it.

FOR Russia substitute the British Empire and the argument holds good for the jingo. Hitler, he said, would use the resources of the Greater Germany to acquire control of the Danube valley. Backed by Hungarian wheat and Rumanian oil, he would dictate his terms to France and Britain.

And our friends in the Labour Party. What did they say? That the Czech cause was the cause of every democrat. How then did they justify Czech control of unwilling Germans? Only to preserve the frontiers...

...the military frontiers of Czechoslovakia. But Labour men say they are anti-militarist. Military objections have wrecked the disarmament conferences. Are they to wreck Labour's sense of justice too? Does Labour adapt its principles to suit the brass-hats?

Labour has practically renounced any means of attaining its ends except by the ballot box. Can those leaders who frowned on hunger marches as "unconstitutional," can the TUC, which declared against the strike weapon, calmly contemplate another Armageddon?

Direct action is not to be thought of in the struggle with English capital. Is the English worker to fight for the capitalists whom his leaders say he must not vote for?

ALL honour to Labour for its message to the German people in which it said that

Vital need for a Positive Pacifist Initiative—3

The Righteousness of Imperialism

By "NECTAIRE"

cartoon. It showed the figure of John Bull contemplating, with indignation, the map of Africa and exclaiming (if I remember rightly) "This Italian Expansionist Mania!"

The map showed four areas, Libya, Eritrea, Italian Somaliland, and Abyssinia, bearing the Italian flag. Practically the whole of the remainder of the map of the Continent was studded with the Union Jack and the French flag.

Now, frankly, it seems to me that we must recognize that for the Italian reader of that newspaper such a cartoon must have seemed conclusive. And unless we are blinded by the worst kind of self-centred imperialism must it not seem conclusive for us also?

For what has "collective security," what has the "rule of law" that has been provided by the League of Nations to say to that Italian newspaper reader? It says simply that the "independence and integrity" of all the regions of the earth are guaranteed.

So far from there being legal principles upon which it will be possible to arrange and modify the control of the surface of this planet among the Powers, the disposition of territory is settled for ever.

SERVING IMPERIALISM

Now, the Italian, the German, and the Japanese can understand why the French, the British, and the Dutch should support an international institution of which this is the one fundamental principle of law.

They do not regard this support, however, as being given in order to uphold abstract principles of justice; they take the view that this support is given because such an institution best serves the imperialist interests of these great imperialist Powers.

And there need be no difficulty for the German, Italian, and Japanese newspapers in finding plenty of English journals to substantiate that point of view.

There is no need for them to confine their attention to the blatant imperialist pride of the traditional jingo journals. They will constantly find, for instance, in the *Manchester Guardian* and the *New Statesman* and *Nation*, intermixed with the moral fervour with which these journals support the conception of "collective security," a considerable emphasis on the calculation that this is the most effective method of protecting British imperial interests.

Sir Norman Angell, to take an outstanding individual exponent of the "collective security" view, constantly urges support for it on imperialist grounds.

The people of Germany, Italy and Japan, if they can be kept informed as to British opinion, will find that there is an almost

universal acceptance in this country, quite independent of political parties, of the righteousness of imperialism so long as it is British imperialism. The conquests of imperialism, where they are established, are fixed for ever; it is only the attempts to make new conquests that are to be resisted.

There is here, therefore, a clash of interests which cannot be disposed of by an assertion that it can be dealt with on principles of law when no law exists that has been framed to deal with the issues involved.

The consequences that follow from this situation are, first, that the initiative in international affairs is repeatedly with the powerful but unsatisfied aspirants to imperialist place in the world, and that this initiative always takes the form of aggression or threat of aggression; and second, that the attitude of progressive opinion in the established imperialist powers, such as British Labour and Liberal opinion, is becoming increasingly merely a demand for armed resistance to aggression—it is becoming, that is to say, in the circumstances almost exclusively a demand for war and for effective preparation to wage that war.

It is only to pacifists that one can look with any hope for positive proposals for a way out of this situation. The useful immediate work for them to undertake in this field we will discuss in the next article.

Women Advocate World Peace Conference

AT a conference on the "Roots of War and Peace," held in the McLellan Galleries, Glasgow, under the auspices of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Lady Robertson presided and addresses were delivered by Mrs. J. McGregor Ross, Dr. Mary T. Rankin, Mrs. L. Jowitt, and Mrs. C. Sturgeon.

Mrs. McGregor Ross, speaking of imperialism, pointed out the economic uses of empire as a source of raw materials and as markets for our goods.

She pointed out the danger of detribalizing and denationalizing colonial peoples through the spread of industrialism. She thought that this danger of uprooting was particularly grave in Africa where the people have a curious (to us) affinity to the land.

AN INTERNATIONAL MANDATE

Mrs. Ross thought we ought to aim at having our crown colonies and protectorates placed under some form of international mandate.

There should be a quickened growth of freedom and self-government and an improvement in education.

The Ottawa Agreements should be abolished and the "open-door" principle adopted in trading.

Lastly, a world peace conference must be called immediately to discuss, among other things, the colonial question, members of the subject races to take part in the discussion.

Dr. Mary Rankin, a well-known Edinburgh economist, recommended the Van Zeeland Report as a basis of discussion at the suggested world peace conference, stressing particularly the need for reforms in the tariff and quota systems.

Mrs. Jowitt emphasized the futility of war, which she declared to be the denial of all the ideals which have been most prolific of social progress. She stressed particularly the need for the institution of international control of aviation and for an improvement in the methods of teaching history.

CALL TO WOMEN

Mrs Sturgeon (USA) thought women had been quiet and gentle in the traditional style for too long. It was time they began to get really angry and indignant about such questions as the private manufacture of armaments. Women must become more politically-minded and play a larger part in world affairs.

After discussion, a resolution was carried calling on the Government to take immediate steps to follow up President Roosevelt's lead for the calling of a world conference to consider those matters which are endangering the peace of the world; to be prepared at such a conference to make adequate contribution toward the solution of colonial problems by accepting international control over British non-self-governing territories; by revision of the Ottawa Agreements, and by other measures for economic appeasement, and to seek, through such a conference for agreement on immediate measures of disarmament.

Get to know
ALLYSOL

C. P.

PEACE PUDDING

By ANDREW BUCHANAN

The Recipe

Within three weeks Lord Castlerosse wrote the following three articles in the *Daily Express*—

Save Us From The Fireside Fusiliers. This Is What I Would Fight For. Take 'em Young and Teach 'em Everything.

Oh, Dear
Lord Castlerosse,

JUST a line to thank you ever so much for your lovely articles about the "crisis." They've done more than anything else to lower my spirits, and I'm terribly grateful.

Each one was so utterly different that I wasn't bored for an instant. How do you do it? Sometimes you appear as a great big jester, and then suddenly you change into a frosty knight in shining armour, with *pâté de foie gras* rampant on your shield, and thrill me with your strength.

But first let me congratulate you for indicting the Fireside Fusiliers, and declaring so boldly you are a pacifist, and refusing to fight for (or against) nations with which you have nothing in common, such as the Czechs.

I love the whimsical way in which you state that even a victorious war never effects its professed end, and, in the next breath, shatter your pacifist stuff by expressing your willingness to fight, aye, and die for the British Empire.

Not So Rash

YOU must not be so rash, or you'll get in a dreadful muddle. First, remember there are two kinds of pacifists. Those who desire peace, and know it can be secured only by abolishing the weapons of war, and those who also desire peace but believe it can be obtained only by preparing for war.

You state we have the greatest empire the world has ever seen, and that our salvation lies therein. I wonder. It's quite possible, you know, that we are always on the brink of war simply because our empire is the greatest the world has ever seen.

You advocate isolation. That would be grand, but how shall we isolate all our scattered bits and pieces. We did not think of isolating ourselves when we were painting the world red, or we might have chosen places nearer together. What a shame it is.

But really, if we were superior to other nations, I think the isolation idea would be quite nice, but as we're exactly like all the rest, I think it would look rather smug. You see, we're just as ready to bomb and gas everyone as everyone else is. We're just as afraid. Just as burdened with arms.

Why not try to isolate mankind from the war menace by abolishing armaments altogether? Hitler suggested that once, but we laughed it off.

Bits and Pieces

UNFORTUNATELY, we did not consider other nations when we were securing our colonies, did we? and now the other nations want to expand, or regain little bits we sliced off, and finding we have all the parking places, they grow annoyed.

That's why I'm so terribly sorry for you, because you cannot possibly object to fighting in a war concerning, say, Czechoslovakia, and yet agree to fight for the Empire, because, basically, the issue is the same—for there's only one fighting problem confronting civilization, and that's space.

I'm not quite sure how God wished the world to be divided up, but I am quite sure he did not intend some nations to have

more than they could use, thus leaving others with insufficient room to expand.

However, don't become too depressed. Resign yourself to the fact that any war in which Britain becomes involved will be related, directly or indirectly, to the Empire, and so you must fight in it.

"Take 'em Young"

CHANGING the subject for a moment, I always felt you were a poet at heart, and I knew it immediately I read the title of your third article, "Take 'em Young, and Teach 'em Everything."

There is a haunting beauty in those words, and they are so encouraging. I think it's a marvellous idea to teach 'em—well, not everything, but everything about killing.

There's something inspiring in your messages when mixed up together:

Be a pacifist, and refuse to fight in European wars, but be ready to die for the Empire. Meanwhile teach 'em to bomb, to slit men open, to gas kiddies.

But we must be awfully careful to teach 'em that they would only do these things in defence. We must have the strongest air force, army and navy.

Of course we must, you big baby, if we want war. But you must play and fight in it too, or it won't be fair.

Why not write a fourth article, "Take 'em Old, and Teach 'em Nothing." Just bundle 'em all together and bomb 'em to bits. You haven't forgotten that war means the survival of the unfittest, have you?

Well, there's the solution. Save the buds, and kill off the faded flowers. But before you don your armour in which you're going to die, most uncomfortably, for the Empire, think again, for a moment, of the millions who died in the last war, which was to end war.

The trees over their graves are not yet tall enough to offer them shade. Those men died to crush militarism—but the militarism they crushed is that which we fear at this minute.

A Nobler Way

IS any further indictment of the criminal futility of war necessary—whether for the Empire, or any other part of the globe? Why be so terribly ready to fight for an empire, when fighting is going to destroy that which you seek to preserve?

First, you must pull yourself together and admit, in a loud voice, that the millions who died in the last war, died in vain! Then, after another brandy, consider the idea of giving away some of the surplus territory we own, to people who need space. That would be a trifle more noble than holding on to every inch and surrounding ourselves with guns.

It is a simple idea that transcends party politics, and is guaranteed to save bloodshed, and mock heroics.

Now if you and I devoted a fraction of the time we give to gloating over our power, to abolishing the bombing plane, and its murderous associates, we should be able to look God in the face.

All the material forces of mankind are opposed to that philosophy, and yet it is true. You should explain to your readers that it is much easier to hide one's fear beneath a uniform than to oppose the war machine entirely.

Destroy Armaments

YOU must give your mind a turkish bath, and let all the fear run out of it. You will never, never be safe, and the shadow of war will never be lifted until all armaments are destroyed. Yes, all armaments!

But, you are saying, Hitler would come right over here on a motorcycle, and capture Britain! Do you really think so? Is that why you're afraid? Well, let me put your mind at rest.

Armaments will surely bring war, and keep peace in the background. Why not, therefore, abolish all methods of murder, and risk invasion, instead of piling up arms and making sure of destruction?

Can you see a very faint shadow in the sky—shaped rather like a cross? It is there, if you look hard enough, and it's to remind you of someone who died for mankind, but he was not armed, and I doubt very much whether he would justify bombs, even to save the British Empire.

"War Never Settles Anything"

By

Stephen Usherwood

"WHAT historian could be found to endorse the cry that war never settles anything?"

Thus asked Professor G. G. Coulton, one of the greatest medieval historians, in a recent letter to the *Manchester Guardian*,—and perhaps the briefest reply that I have is this true story.

A boy wrote a letter the other day to his former headmaster in which he said:

My brother is in the RAF at Cranwell, where his promotion has been rapid. Indeed, should there be another world war within the next five years his future is settled.

But Professor Coulton began his letter by asking how in "face of the most notorious facts" we can believe that nothing is ever settled by war. (Actually pacifists say, "War settles nothing"—i.e., nothing that it sets out to settle—which is rather different).

The notorious facts he gave concern the histories of Switzerland and Holland as examples of freedom "maintained or regained through either actual or potential warfare."

Now it is not indispensable for a pacifist to know the history of these countries. He can still ask whether the wars of the past are really comparable with those of today; but at the same time there is very sound reason for doubting whether their histories really prove what they are said to prove.

Not the least of Dick Sheppard's incredible labours for peace was a brilliant and fully documented reply to the professional historians on this very point. (We say "No," pages 50 and 51.)

He pointed out that religious freedom, for which the Dutch fought the Spanish, was one of the first victims on the Dutch side. Their treatment of the Remonstrants showed that they had faithfully learnt their lesson from the Spanish Inquisition.

IN referring to "six centuries of Swiss freedom" Professor Coulton probably aroused vague memories in his readers' minds of Gessler and William Tell—legends now known to be without any foundation in fact.

The truth is that "the pass of St. Gothard might have remained a second or third rate Alpine highway and the Federation of the Forest Cantons might not have acquired so great an economic and political importance had not some nameless engineer—about the year 1225—hung 'the bridge of spray' in the gorge of the Reuss above Göschenen."

As pacifists would expect, the arts of peace formed a finer and more ancient foundation of a free State than those of war.

With their usual preference, however, for stories of war, historians date Swiss freedom from the Battle of Morgarten, 1315, about which many legends, but few facts, are known—beyond these.

The Swiss, in return for certain privileges, had lent the Emperor, Henry VII, 300 soldiers to fight in a quarrel, not their own, in Italy.

The ruler of Austria, Leopold, determined to punish the rebellious and audacious peasants, as he called them. His men-at-arms allowed themselves to be attacked in a narrow valley at Morgarten.

The Swiss threw them into confusion by a shower of stones and missiles and routed them at the first down-hill charge.

Really, Professor Coulton, is Europe in the twentieth century to be involved in war on an analogy of this sort?

IT is in no spirit of recrimination that we must add that the subsequent history of the Swiss shows that the habits of violence learnt in the struggle, common to all European countries, against feudal overlords were not forgotten by them in their dealings with each other.

Indeed, their country became recognized as the best recruiting ground in

Europe for mercenary soldiers.

In the Reformation they were not exempt from the bitter struggle, also common to Europe, in which Protestants and Catholics alike attempted to deny religious freedom to each other.

The great Swiss Reformer, Zwingli, was killed in 1531 by Swiss.

There was civil war in Switzerland as late as 1847, and it was under the constitution of 1848, and by a policy of strict neutrality, that they made their country, the beloved playground of Europe, and an international centre for every kind of cultured and humanitarian effort.

THIS game of giving marks for national morality is both silly, and dangerous. It resulted in Professor Coulton putting in the usual piece of complacent stuff about the ancient British "genius for compromise."

If he is to give us marks for that, perhaps he better go back to the eighteenth century and take into account our laws against the Roman Catholics in Ireland, which will stand comparison with the Nuremberg laws against the Jews, our exploitation of child labour in armament factories, and our effort to found a world empire.

At the same time he can give marks to the States of Germany for the music of Bach and the poetry of Goethe. On one side he can put Beethoven, and on the other the depopulation of the Scottish highlands by insanely cruel and greedy English landlords.

These black marks on our record are not the result of bad national morality, but of war and armed rebellion. Nobody need shut their eyes to the fact that the same causes are having the same effects in Germany today.

I HOPE now that Professor Coulton will never again accuse pacifists of "facile half-truths"—"more mischievous than patent falsehoods." "The underlying truth," he added,

is what all men admit, that war nearly always leaves even the victor worse off than it had found him. But upon that foundation we can build no further than this, that war can justify itself only when it is truly defensive.

I think I can build a great deal more than that on what all men admit. First, I know that no power on earth is fit to judge whether a war is defensive or not—least of all "the national conscience" to which Professor Coulton says he would leave it.

I am content to leave it to his own conscience to see how, in the last crisis, a "truly defensive" war would have helped the Czechs. Perhaps they would have been comforted to think there was a balloon barrage round London?

LET there be an end of this belief that international affairs can be settled on the analogy of private law-suits. You cannot bring a nation into court. The mass trial is a device of totalitarian States not suitable for general use.

Justice is blind, and the pans of her scales are not immense. International law can be built up, but only after the nations have become accustomed, for centuries, to living as a community.

The world is only at the beginning of that period. It is a bitter, but true, reflection that, since Czechoslovakia was born, not of a judicial decision, but of the horrible violence of war, we cannot justly complain if her boundaries have been set aside by threat of war.

The suffering caused by that change can be remedied only by wisdom and understanding—understanding not only of the Czechs but of the Germans: wisdom sufficient to abolish the weapons and renounce the methods which made and unmade the Czechoslovakia of 1919.

THE KING'S WEIGH HOUSE CHURCH,
Duke Street, Oxford Street, W.1.

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 30th.

11 a.m.—Rev. Canon Raven, D.D.
(Ealing Cathedral).
12.15 p.m.—Dedication of Dick Sheppard Memorial Club.
7 p.m.—The Ven. Archdeacon Donaldson, M.A.
(Westminster).

PRINTING AND PUBLICITY

W. J. FOWLER & SON, LTD.

245-7, CRICKLEWOOD BROADWAY,
LONDON, N.W.2.

Telephone: GLAdstone 1234.

100% Members Peace Pledge Union.

SPEAKING PERSONALLY

LORD SANDERSON gives

Two Points for Pacifists

in the first
of his three
articles

A GREAT deal of discussion has taken place in the past as to whether war is or is not consistent with Christianity. If war is inconsistent with Christianity, then we have a strong argument for peace. And if this can be proved, it ought to be possible to convert Christians to pacifism.

Some of our leading churchmen maintain that war is not necessarily inconsistent with the teaching of Jesus and, if this is true, some Christians might feel it their duty to support war on the ground that it was sanctioned by Jesus. The belief that war was consistent with Christianity would have the effect of making many pacifists critical of Christianity, but it would also make it impossible to convert some Christians to pacifism.

Would this mean the end of pacifism? Surely not. Even if Christianity had never come into the world, would not war under modern conditions still be a horrible and stupid way of settling the differences between nations?

If the bulk of the people in Europe were converted to Christian pacifism, there would be no war. But we pacifists cannot wait until the whole population of Europe, or an adequate majority of them, have been converted even to Christianity, before we try to stop war.

The churches have been trying to convert the world for 2,000 years, and it looks as if pacifists would have to wait a long time before they succeed.

All we can do is, on the one hand, to try to prove that war is inconsistent with Christianity, and so convert as many Christians as possible to pacifism, or, on the other hand, to say that war is such a horrible and stupid way of settling international disputes that it does not really matter whether it is inconsistent with Christianity or not.

It is not necessary to be a Christian in order to be a pacifist, as is shown by the numbers of non-Christians who are taking part in the pacifist movement all over the world, though it is true that the Christian who believes that war is contrary to Christian teaching has an additional background of argument as compared with the non-Christian.

If only the main ethical principle of Christianity could be universally adopted and people could be induced to love one another, we should have gone far toward the abolition of war.

BUT let us face the fact frankly that, as people are at present constituted, it is practically impossible for most people to love everybody. It is also not easy to avoid hating people who commit atrocious cruelties on their fellow-men.

Even where hatred seems justifiable, however, it can do no good, and it is much easier not to hate anybody than it is to love everybody. It seems to me important, therefore, that we should concentrate on not hating.

It should be easier to convert the world to non-hatred than to the acceptance of the whole body of Christian doctrine.

The peoples of different countries do not as a rule hate each other if left to themselves, but they are often encouraged to

hate by their leaders. Some of the leaders of democratic States hate fascism, nazism, and bolshevism, while German and Italian leaders hate democracy and bolshevism, and the Russian leaders hate every other form of government but their own.

People are only too apt to confound with systems of government those who live under them, so that the hatred of systems of government inculcated by leaders tends to engender unfriendliness among the nations.

It is essential that hatred among the peoples should be avoided, nor is there anything to be gained by the hatred of those who are responsible for forms of government of which we disapprove. It does not help the cause of peace to hate the dictators.

But when we come to consider some of their actions, hatred is justifiable—not of them, but of their actions. It is quite reasonable and understandable to hate the persecution of the Jews and anti-fascists by Mussolini, and of the Jews, socialists, and religious leaders by Hitler, to say nothing of the many cruelties inflicted by the Russian Communist Party.

It is surprising that the persecution of

the Jews has not aroused more widespread resentment and horror than it has. The Bulgarian and the Armenian atrocities in the last century probably gave rise to more widespread feeling in England than has the persecution of the Jews in recent years. Cruelty to Christians always seems to arouse more anger than the brutal treatment of Jews.

The persecution of the Jews, however, is not a reason for declaring war on their persecutors, because war would not in the long run help the Jews, and because it would lead to vastly more suffering than it was intended to prevent. And this leads me to my second point.

It is constantly said by pacifists that war never achieves anything, and is always futile.

Now if this statement could be proved, it would provide a very strong argument against war in the future. But can it be proved?

It is perfectly true that the Great War seems to have achieved nothing but disaster, and it was quite futile as regards the objects for which it was nominally carried on—a war to end war, and a war to make the world safe for democracy. It is again perfectly true, as has often been said, that another war on the same scale would mean the destruction of civilization. But is it true that all wars in the past have achieved nothing?

To take only two examples from ancient and mediæval times, the Romans

conquered the greater part of the known world, and William of Normandy conquered England. There were certainly achievements here. How far they were beneficial to the world must remain a matter of speculation.

We do not know what would have happened if the Roman Empire had not existed, nor what the position of England would be now if it had not been conquered by the Normans.

To pass on to more modern times, it is difficult to see that the wars of Napoleon achieved any permanent advantage to Europe. The Crimean War achieved nothing, and the Franco-Prussian war left nothing behind it but trouble for the future.

There are, however, modern wars which present a more difficult case. The American Civil War was fought to preserve the unity of the States, and to free the slaves in the southern States. These objects were accomplished.

But it seems pretty certain that with a little common sense and good will on both sides, they could have been achieved without the frightful slaughter and destruction that the Civil War involved. This, again, cannot be proved.

To come down to our own time, the Abyssinian war has led to the conquest of Abyssinia—or most of it—by Italy. It can fairly be argued that the Abyssinians will ultimately be better off under Italy than they were under their former rulers.

Here again, it is possible, though it cannot be proved, that the war might have been prevented and the good that may result brought about in some other way.

If, then, good results can come from war, would not pacifists, instead of maintaining that war is always futile, do better to argue that under modern conditions the end, however beneficial it may be, can never justify so foul a means as war?

LESSONS OF THE CRISIS

Views of a member
of the Peace
Pledge Union

IN spite of a distressing lack of organization and the absence of a concerted plan of campaign which so reduced the effectiveness of the Peace Pledge Union during the recent crisis, the existence of 130,000 pacifists in the country has proved of considerable value in making the politicians hesitate to plunge the country into war.

Mr. Chamberlain, mentioning the 20,000 letters he received, said he had seen enough to know that the people who wrote did not feel that they had such a cause [a vital cause, a cause that transcends all human values] if they were asked to go to war in order that the Sudeten Germans might not join the Reich.

A considerable portion of these letters probably came from pacifists, but not sufficient considering the thousands of men and women who have signed the peace pledge.

Nevertheless the PPU would have been a hundred times more effective as a war-resisting machine if there had existed greater unity and more coordination in its methods of resistance.

As it was, we relied almost entirely on uncoordinated individual efforts, such as those of certain Sponsors who visited 10 Downing Street, and of Mr. Lansbury who cabled President Roosevelt asking him to suggest to Hitler a conference in a neutral country.

It was sad, however, to realize that while the Labour Party and the Liberal Party were organizing great rallies urging people "to stand by the Czechs," the PPU apparently did not think it opportune to organize mass meetings stressing the need to keep England out of war! Thus, instead of huge demonstrations being organized in London and other key cities and the PPU giving the word to all groups to stage daily anti-war meetings and poster parades, all initiative was left entirely to local group leaders with the exception of the recommendation to write to the Premier and local MP's.

This failure to make the most of our great strength in the country was due, first, to our stupidity in not carrying out the Peace Book plans of Lord Ponsonby, and secondly to the absence of any democratic organization in the PPU to enable group leaders, (as representatives of the opinions of local groups), to have any effective say in decisions taken by the Management Committee.

The remedy is obvious. We must at once set about placing the PPU on some democratic basis by which local groups all over Great Britain shall be represented in person by elected representatives in the Management Committee so that we can place youth and initiative side by side with old and experienced leaders and provide greater unity, cooperation, and strength.

During the crisis we have come to realize how shamefully in the past we have neglected the opportunity of close cooperation with bodies which are largely pacifist, such as the Independent Labour Party, the Socialist Party of Great Britain, the National Peace Council and the Women's Cooperative Guilds. Let us not repeat this tragic error.

Moreover, though people were easily terrified into digging trenches and believing that gas masks would protect them against all aerial attack, there was no enthusiasm for war, and indeed "last minute pacifism" was noticeable in unexpected quarters; as, for example, in a considerable section of the Conservative Party which was definitely opposed to war on behalf of the Czechs and in the British Union of Fascists.

Pacifism would have been a more powerful factor had the PPU made more use of such elements.

On the other hand, we have been forced to admit during the last few weeks that as a vehicle for pacifism the present Labour Party is useless.

During this period its unrealistic sentimental war-mongering slogans betrayed the frenzy of men who had abandoned their socialist principles.

Nor can we place any faith in the Conservative National Government, for, though its leader kept England out of war, this government was responsible for the conditions which made war possible.

Now, despite the Premier's talk of recon-

ciliation, this government is definitely pledged to greater preparations for war.

Hence, politically, pacifists are faced with the alternative of joining existing pacifist political parties, or the Independent Labour Party which adopted an unconditional policy of opposition to war during the recent crisis.

Despite the Munich agreement, we are not out of the wood yet.

Obviously our immediate need is to co-operate with all groups and individuals who will join pacifists not only in making a great drive against national registration and conscription, but in launching at once a persistent campaign for a world peace conference.

We must also take the lead in proposing the internationalizing of non-self-governing colonies before the colonial question becomes a headline topic.

The crisis has shown that if we assume the initiative in removing the injustices of Versailles, we can secure peace.

Unfortunately, the crisis has been a great boon for recruiting and militarism. Consequently, it is up to everyone of us to set about making the PPU better in organization so that its driving power may be trebled.

Above all, we must not relax but redouble our efforts to convince those who have been forced to face the hideous prospect of war, that the pacifist method of obtaining justice by negotiation, arbitration, reconciliation, disarmament, and general preparation for peace is the only way to remove the causes of war and secure permanent peace.

PATRICK RICHARDS

A MEANS OF
PUBLICITY

A man walked into the Peace Pledge Union headquarters the other day and said he would like to join the movement.

It transpired that he had learnt about the PPU through reading a copy of *Peace News* in his local library.

Surely, here is a little encouragement for those members who are struggling to get the paper into their libraries!

Peace News has now been included in libraries at

Leamington Spa;
Letchworth;
Tadmorden; &
Winchester.

INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN
OPINION.

Are you interested in solving the most pressing problems of the moment—the demand for Colonies, Peace and Internationalism, Racial intolerance, etc.?

You should read *International African Opinion*, the monthly magazine expressing the views of Africans and their kin throughout the world. Published by The International African Service Bureau, 12a Westbourne Grove, London, W.2.

Price 3d.

Yearly subscription 3/6 post free.

PEACE NEWS

Editorial, Publishing and Advertisement Offices:

17, Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

Telephone: Holborn 8627.

On and after November 5, 1938:

3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4

Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 3s. 3d. Yearly: 12s. 6d.

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed to war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace policy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post-card:—

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1.

October 29, 1938.

The Alternative Government

THE one issue on which the Oxford by-election was really fought was that of the peace of the world—or to be more exact, the value of the Munich agreement between HERR HITLER and MR. CHAMBERLAIN.

So long ago as the beginning of this month, the Berlin correspondent of *The Times* reported that political circles there were "not disposed to discuss the implications of the Munich agreement for European relationships in general. It remains to be seen, in the German view, whether public opinion in France and England will permit the Governments to exploit the constructive possibilities of the Munich agreement."

It will not do simply to rave about Germany's having no right to dictate—even if she has a right to dictate to her own people—what the people of this country should or should not do.

We believe LORD SANDERSON was right when he wrote to MR. QUINTON HOGG "that MR. CHAMBERLAIN, together with LORD HALIFAX (the Chancellor of the University), is on safer lines and likely to work out a wiser policy for the future than the late Vice-Chancellor." That is not to say that we think MR. CHAMBERLAIN's line is either wise or safe (or that we think LORD SANDERSON right in indicating that he would therefore vote for MR. HOGG). But we believe that whereas MR. A. D. LINDSAY's policy would lead (in view of the German attitude) virtually inevitably to war, MR. CHAMBERLAIN's does at least make a real peace slightly less difficult of attainment.

But not—*emphatically not*—unless the respite which is still the most important thing about MR. CHAMBERLAIN's otherwise very dangerous policy is used to proper advantage. And what are the prospects of that if left to the supporters of the Government?

In some respects (and certainly for some people), worse than the renewed armament mania itself is the use being made of the respite to whip up the fascist spirit of blind obedience to the Government, and even to the person himself at its head, which shall ensure that the prospects are left to its supporters to the exclusion of those whose faith is in good will and not in arms. MR. HOGG narrowed down the issue on which the election was fought from the Munich agreement to "national unity to meet the needs and the time," but did not show how national unity—or how anything—might transform an agreement never to go to war to settle differences with Germany into a real and lasting peace.

Even more blatant in this regard was the letter of the only living ex-Member for the constituency, PROFESSOR J. A. R. MARRIOTT, printed in *The Times* on Monday, when he wrote:

We may differ as to the manner in which the present crisis should be confronted, and the means by which it may be surmounted. But no one outside the narrowest academic circles can doubt that the return of MR. LINDSAY for a historic constituency would at this moment be interpreted by the world as a vote of censure on MR. CHAMBERLAIN, and, consequently, as a weakening of the national effort to secure world peace.

It is thus considered a mere trifle whether

One Year Since He Died

WHEN he died, Dick Sheppard left us, as a relative might leave a legacy, responsibility for the Peace Pledge Union. It was his while he lived; on his death it passed to us by natural inheritance.

Responsibility is hard to administer; it would be easier to enjoy the interest on that particular legacy and let someone else guard and increase the capital.

But this is in fact impossible for us if the Peace Pledge Union is to continue in the spirit in which it was begun. For Dick Sheppard was of all things a responsible person: he looked at contemporary society, saw that war stood threateningly over it, and accepted the thankless task of liberating men and women from that threat.

HIS intuitive understanding of history led him to spend the last years of his life in the attempt so to alter men and their attitude to their fellows that history should not repeat itself in the endless round of war bred by war.

The founding of the Peace Pledge Union was his Ninth Symphony, the natural creation of the man that he was. In a book which I wrote soon after his death appeared the following passage, which I quote because it seems equally applicable today:

... the climax of Sheppard's life was the establishment as a living reality of the movement for international peace. The instrument he used for this end was the Peace Pledge Union; it is perhaps salutary to realize that the Peace Pledge Union is not in itself peace, but only the instrument to peace. Nor is peace, in its accepted sense of the antithesis to warfare, a word sufficiently large to embrace all those things for which, all his life and especially in his last years, Sheppard stood.

He stood for love. Of love peace is a single aspect, a logical and necessary facet of a greater gem. But because peace is one of the expressions of love which the world at present most needs (and this is true because war is the expression of hatred which the world at present best knows), the establishment of a movement for peace must be regarded as the climax of Sheppard's life. He established it, and died. He lives still in the pacifists he led, and the rest is with them.

(Continued from Col. 1)

the steps now taken are those that will bring the crisis to a satisfactory conclusion: all we must do is to back our PREMIER, right or wrong. No wonder *The Times* talks about "the vaunted *Führerprinzip*" (principle of the Leader, or Dictator, as he is more usually called) existing and operating "within the framework of Parliamentary institutions." (PROF. MARRIOTT himself prefers the even more innocent word "Pilot.")

What a dilemma for the voter!—and the voter, whether we like politics or not, has (while democracy remains in its present form and particularly when the issue is so clear and decisive as it was in Oxford) a tremendously important part to play in shaping the policy pursued by the Government for our good or our ill. Not that his influence is necessarily direct. He may well make his general feeling known in spite of failing to express it in the return of a particular candidate.

Is that dilemma always to face the voter so that, out of sheer desperation, he either makes a choice—wrong (for his good), in our opinion, whatever it is—or, by simply defaulting, invites any sort of evil? If the dilemma is a choice between two evils between which there really isn't anything to choose, is it not obvious that the pacifist policy of appeasement without either force or the sacrifice of others instead of ourselves is the only real alternative? And if so, when are pacifists going to realize that in a very real sense they are the only real "alternative Government"?

And when are they going to act accordingly?



H. R. L. SHEPPARD,
died October 31, 1937

I BELIEVE profoundly that that last sentence is true: we are Dick Sheppard's immortality. For the Peace Pledge Union has no life without us, and according to what we are, so it is.

The making of peace is not a matter of conferences and demonstrations, though these may have their place; it is a matter

spirit which understands peace as the preservation of the common humanity which we share with all men at all times and in all places.

While there is this awareness of men's like needs and aspirations, there is peace and life; when it is lost in awareness only of our own, there is war and death. It is a question of making human values our first concern, and sticking to that whatever happens.

When Dick was lying in state at St. Martin's I remember seeing for the first time the word "Humanity" cut on the plinth of Edith Cavell's statue opposite the church. That was what she stuck to; that single word is her only valid epitaph. When I saw it I understood too what Dick was: he was a human being.

by
R. H. WARD

of values and of behaviour based on them. War is the behaviour of hatred, peace the behaviour of love; this Dick Sheppard knew and expressed in what he was and what he did.

If it is what we know and do, then we keep faith with him and he lives still in us; if we think that there is an easier way to peace, one which will require political speeches instead of personal sacrifices, or will tolerate self-interest and not demand service, then we have left him for dead.

Dick Sheppard was a man whom everyone understood; the ordinary man recognized him, he created relationship between himself and those with whom he came in contact: the relationship of human being with human being on the common ground of comradeship, humour, and considerateness. It is on that ground that no battles are fought, that hatred gives way to love, intolerance to tolerance, violence to forbearance; on that ground there can be no war, which is the negation of relationship.

ONE year since he died: it will do no harm if we ask ourselves how far we have been justified in saying "Dick Sheppard's work goes on," for it is the same as saying "We are keeping alive in ourselves the spirit in which he worked," and we cannot say that lightly.

If his work was the work of human relationship, our meetings, our manifestoes, our poster parades and our letters to men and women in other countries are a waste of words and time, unless they are done in the

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS

These, for their faith, renounced men's love and praise,

Glory and honour won by war and hate;
Their cross of service, borne through weary days,

Was more to them than any ribboned bar
That death could earn, and slaughter could create.

Their meat was bitterness, their wages, scorn;

Theirs was the badge of shame; the flag they flew

Still fluttered bravely, bloodstained, soiled and torn:

They gloried in their shame, although no far

Proud trumpets rang for them, no bugles blew:

Condemned as cowards, or despised as mad,
The vicious rattle of the firing squad

Was all the martial music that they had.
But their undimmed memorial is with God.

ALYP

MOVE TO CONSCRIPT TEACHERS FOR A.R.P. PROTEST SHOWS THAT MANY OBJECT "Part of Military Machine"

A CIRCULAR which, contrary to the Board of Education's instructions, is designed to conscript teachers for air raid precautions, has aroused apprehensions in North Wales.

The ARP Officer for the County of Caernarvon has written to local ARP authorities as follows:

I consider that all headmasters of schools should be looked upon as being air wardens in their schools to look after children under their care.

Therefore, I would be much obliged if you could ask the authorities under you to include them in the lists for training as wardens with your other wardens.

In a protest against the letter sent to the Caernarvonshire Education Committee, the North Wales Committee of the Peace Pledge Union points out that it is contrary to the instructions embodied in the Board of Education Circular No. 1461, since it introduces conscription of the teaching profession in respect of ARP.

"It is needless for us to inform you," adds the Peace Pledge Union's protest, "that a large number of headmasters and teachers are members of our union, and, as ARP are a part of the government's military machinery, they have conscientious objections to taking part."

The PPU letter concludes with a request that the instructions be withdrawn, and that the freedom granted to the teaching profession by the Board of Education should be respected.

TEACHERS' UNION APPROACHED

Another letter, sent by the North Wales Committee of the PPU to the National Union of Teachers, urged the latter "to take action against the introduction of conscription of your members throughout the country."

OBJECT OF A.R.P.

Meanwhile the crisis has thrown a revealing light on other aspects of ARP.

At Uxbridge the local ARP officer admitted that the civilian population would be in the same position as the first line troops were in the Great War, and declared that they should, therefore, be as well disciplined and organized.

BRITAIN'S "LOOT"

"Britain's attitude in adopting ARP is rather like that of a burglar, who, surrounded by his loot, wishes to make adequate provision for its safety against threatened reprisals by building the most impregnable of all strongrooms," stated a letter written to the Chief ARP Warden of Newcastle-on-Tyne by Mr. Denis Hayes.

"Surely that is wrong," the letter continued; "would not the really wise man confess and make restitution?"

THE FUNNY SIDE

But even ARP has its humorous side. A correspondent writes:

When in Chiswick House grounds last weekend I saw ARP trenches being dug in the cricket field, with notices on all sides saying "Danger."

Sometimes the official mask works loose. A list of instructions issued by a firm in the London meat market contains this gem: Those who lock up books of a night will do so when warning is given by siren, but will not trouble to do so when our first warning is a bomb explosion.

BISHOP CONDEMNS CONSCRIPTION

After declaring "there is, as I hold, much to be said for making no preparations for war or against attack," the Bishop of Birmingham, Dr. E. W. Barnes, said recently that "conscription without a conscience clause would mean the end of our distinctive position among the great nations of Europe. Conscription with such a clause would be either unworkable or a source of constant friction."

Opposition to national service was expressed in a statement issued last week by the Executive Committee of the Youth Campaign for Peace and Freedom, which declared that the Government was introducing a register for national service "because its policy does not receive the backing of the nation. . . . Youth cannot blindly fall into line without becoming the dupes of a policy leading to disaster."

DATES TO REMEMBER

October 30

In connexion with the anniversary of Dick Sheppard's death there will be special services on October 30, at 11 a.m. and 7 p.m., at the King's Weigh House Church, Duke Street, Oxford Street, London, W.1, in whose work he was especially interested.

Canon Raven will be the preacher at the 11 o'clock service, and in the evening the Venerable Lewis Donaldson, Archdeacon of Westminster, will preach.

At both services special reference will be made to Dick Sheppard, his life and work.

At 12.15 p.m. the new Dick Sheppard Memorial Club in the King's Weigh Church Buildings will be dedicated by Canon Raven.

The club will remain open throughout the day and after the opening day its hours will be from 3 p.m. to 10 p.m.

October 31

Here is another reminder of the Peace Pledge Union's Memorial Concert to Dick Sheppard to be held in the Queen's Hall, London, on Monday.

The London Symphony Orchestra has been engaged, and will be conducted by Basil Cameron. The concert will start at 8 p.m. and the programme will be:

Prelude,
Lohengrin. . . WAGNER
Overture . . . LENNOX BERKELEY
Madrigals . . . MONTEVERDI, arr. MALIPIERO
Jeu de Cartes . . . STRAVINSKY
Interval
Symphony No. 3
(Eroica) . . . BEETHOVEN

A collection will be taken at the end of the concert.

The concert is the outcome of much consideration. It was felt that a mere succession of speeches would be inadequate for the occasion, and that the best arrangement would be to start with a short speech, followed by an orchestral concert.

Some tickets are still available (7s. 6d., 5s., and 2s. 6d.) from Chappel's Box Office, Queen's Hall, London.

November 11

Armistice day this year will have a fuller significance because of the mingled hopes and fears of the weeks since Munich.

In view of the larger numbers likely to wish to attend, three Christian pacifist meetings have been arranged for November 11. They are to be held at 7.30 p.m. in each case, not only at the Central Hall, Westminster, and Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, as usual, but also at Friends House.

Canon Charles Raven, the Rev. Henry Carter, and Professor George B. Jeffery will preside, and the speakers, some of whom will go to more than one hall, will include Mr. George Lansbury, the Rev. James Fraser, Miss Mary Gamble, Miss Muriel Lester, Canon Stuart Morris, Mr. Ray Newton, Dr. Alex Wood, and Mr. John S. Stephens.

It is understood that tickets for Kingsway Hall are practically sold out, but those for the other two halls may be obtained from the Council of Christian Pacifist Groups, 16 Victoria Street, S.W.1.

ARMISTICE WEEK

TO enable us to meet the heavy demand for copies, will groups please order supplies for Armistice meetings as soon as possible.

To ensure delivery of copies, orders must be received by the Tuesday before the date of issue

Groups undertaking the sale of *Peace News* for the first time should write to us for specially prepared hints.

Turn Enthusiasm into Action

Number of readers last week: 22,096.

IF the enthusiasm which has greeted the launching of the campaign for increasing the sale and influence of *Peace News* is anything to go by, our aim of 50,000 circulation by the end of the year can be achieved.

This enthusiasm shows itself not only in the correspondence which has reached me in such quantity that immediate replies are impossible, but also in the visits that I have paid to groups and group leaders.

They all have the same story to tell. The groups are now getting to work. Those who have already started the canvass of members are astonished at the number of PPUers who have never even heard of *Peace News*.

This is probably true of your district. In this work of canvassing members you can help at once. So get into touch with your group and join the canvass squads.

★

A big extension of this *Peace News* campaign is being planned. In view of the threat of conscription and compulsory national service for war purposes, the paper will have a big part to play in organizing resistance and keeping alive the spirit of democracy and freedom.

Peace News is an organ of public opinion which is disfranchised by a political party system that makes a mockery of democracy.

In planning the circulation campaign, of which details will be given you later, we are bearing in mind the fact that *Peace News* is the spearhead of this coming struggle to maintain peace and freedom in our land.

YOUR DUTY NOW is to get subscribing readers. If you have got one, then get another, or better still join your group canvass squad and get dozens. Do it now. DO IT THIS WEEK-END.

BEN GREENE,

Circulation Department, *Peace News*, 17 Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

NO WAR IS INEVITABLE

M.P. on Lesson of History

A REPLY to those who speak of the inevitability of war, showing that history made such an assumption incorrect, was made by the Rev. James Barr, pacifist MP, during the recent "crisis debate" in Parliament.

During the time of the Heptarchy [before the Norman Conquest], he said, people "constantly declared that war between the seven provinces was absolutely inevitable."

"It went on for three or four centuries, and at last they got on speaking terms and founded a league of provinces out of which they made up old England. If seven provinces could unite to make up old England we can cherish the hope that seven great countries in Europe will unite to make a new Europe."

Mr. Barr mentioned a letter which had recently appeared in the *Glasgow Herald* under the heading "Inevitable" Wars Which Did Not Happen, and went on to recall one of those wars.

"It was on April 27, 1885," he said "that Mr. Gladstone asked the House of Commons to vote a credit of £11,000,000 for naval and military preparations because of the acute war which was deemed then inevitably to break out on the Afghanistan frontier. But Mr. Gladstone did not put all his faith in the £11,000,000."

PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT

"He started negotiations, and eventually he secured a peaceful solution. His solution was strongly opposed by many of his opponents, who said that as war with Russia was inevitable they might as well have it out then, and they strongly opposed his peaceful settlement."

Mr. Barr quoted the following from

(Continued on page 10, col. 1)

QUAKERS AND PEACE

The enlarged autumn issue of *The Friend* for October 28 contains a number of articles specially written to help Quakers in their thinking in preparation for their special "Yearly Meeting" on Peace, which is to be held in November.

But pacifists who are not Quakers will find much of help in these contributions. CARL HEATH writes on "Which Way to Peace?" JOHN L. NICKALLS, Librarian at Friends House, traces the expression and development of the Quaker Peace Testimony during the past 270 years. FRANCIS E. POLLARD deals with "What should we do with Aggressors?" and also with Economic and Social Problems. There are also articles by PERCY W. BARTLETT, of the Embassies of Reconciliation, and by GEORGE A. SUTHERLAND. GEORGE LANSBURY contributes an Open Letter to Quakers. There are special illustrations by a young Friend, THEODORE NAISH.

THE FRIEND

SPECIAL ENLARGED AUTUMN NUMBER



ON SALE FRIDAY
OCTOBER 28

3d.

If any difficulty, send fourpence to publishers:

THE FRIEND, 19 CURSITOR STREET, LONDON, E.C.4

(Continued from page 9, col. 4)
Morley's Life of Gladstone concerning this incident:

Worked with patience, and with vigorous preparation at the back of conciliatory negotiation, the question was prosecuted to a happy issue, and those who had done their best to denounce Mr. Gladstone and Lord Granville for trampling the interests and honour of their country underfoot thought themselves lucky, when the time came for them to take up the threads, in being able to complete the business by adopting and continuing the self-same line.

"That took place 53 years ago," continued Mr. Barr. "That inevitable war was averted, and we have never been at war with Russia since."

"There is nothing inevitable until it has taken place, and when it has taken place then you see how it might have been avoided. It is pure fatalism to rest on the thought that we are in for inevitable war."

"That kind of speaking, may I say respectfully, has no faith in a divine order overruling human events. More than that, it is entirely false to Christian teaching, as I understand it."

Mr. Barr said that he had left the Liberal Party at the beginning of the Great War and joined the Labour Party at its close. "I did so because I believed and felt that not even the Great War was inevitable. . . . I will go on proclaiming until my dying breath that no war is inevitable, and that no war should take place in any cause whatsoever."

Under the Oak Tree

By THEO WILLS

(on behalf of the Basque Fund)

IT has been a joy to open the parcels of sheets, pillowcases, and some blankets which have been coming in by almost every post in response to the appeal in this column.

Perhaps I had better not disclose how often—or how seldom—the bed-linen was being changed latterly. It remained for the bright young Senorita who occasionally writes this article to do a little arithmetic and reveal the real truth.

But thanks to the kind people who are helping us, we are now well on the road to thoroughly hygienic conditions again.

It was good that we had a new batch of "cyclostyled" letters of thanks ready for the rush; but some of the parcels, as always, were unacknowledged individually for they were accompanied only by such unaddressed notes as "From a Welsh member of the PPU," or just "With love." To the donors of these and all the parcels we send our warmest thanks.

We hope, however, that the ebb will not set in just yet because we are only just regaining a healthy minimum so far.

And now here is a note on her summer holiday by CARITO RODRIGUEZ:

We wished each other good luck saying Adios! Adios! as if we were never going to see each other again! I went with another girl called Laura to Birmingham where, after a good journey, we were met by our hosts.

From the first moment both the lady and the gentleman made an extremely good impression on me, calming any fear I might have had that they might be too severe with us or anything like that.

They quickly discovered that we liked the pictures. Also I enjoyed very much an excursion to Stratford-on-Avon where we could admire the river where Shakespeare was frequently inspired. Also we saw the theatre. On the way back we had a good time in Leamington.

Very soon came the day of our return. When we were in the train I could not stop my tears, and I felt sad to think that it might be long enough before we could again have some days of life *en famille*. But then I turned my thought to the coming reunion with our companions and our teachers, who all, we supposed, would have much to tell us.

Now I should like to be able to invite these kind people to stay with me in Spain in token of the affection with which I hold them and of my gratitude for all they did to make our holiday so happy.

Sheets and pillowcases are urgently needed at Langham. Have you any to spare? Or can you afford to buy any? Basque House, Langham, Colchester, Essex.

All donations should be sent to Basque Fund, Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, W.1. They will be most gratefully received.

NEWS from the FOUR CORNERS

HOME COUNTIES

Barnet

THE Barnet branch has commenced a series of afternoon meetings for women signatories and others, children under school age being entertained in an adjoining room.

The meetings are held fortnightly in various houses in the district, and two successful and well-attended gatherings have taken place.

It is hoped that this further venture will make new contacts with the women of the district and meet the needs of those who cannot attend the evening group meetings.

South-West Essex Region

Members in the East London and Essex suburbs have long felt the need for some form of regional organization to coordinate the somewhat isolated activities of the groups in their area.

Now that Ilford group has opened a Dick Sheppard House at 53 York Road, Ilford, as a permanent local centre, within two minutes' walk from Ilford station, a unique opportunity for the formation of a regional committee presents itself.

This idea has already been approved by several groups and a committee has been called to discuss the question on November 2 at 8 p.m. in the Dick Sheppard House. All groups concerned will be invited to send delegates.

At this meeting the regional committee will be formed and a start made upon its activities. Groups in the district are urged to see that they are represented at that meeting.

The work which the committee will undertake will include the organization of large indoor meetings; preparation of panels of speakers within the region and available to local groups; undertaking of initial work necessary in forming new groups in localities in the region not yet tackled; and generally to assist individual groups in any way possible by a supervision of the general pooling of regional resources.

West Kent Region

A conference of the West Kent Region was held in Gravesend last Saturday. The local group invited and entertained delegates from the region's 26 groups and the business was conducted by the chairman, Dr. A. N. Tucker, of Orpington.

It is hoped that ten more groups may be started. A method for doing this was outlined by the secretary, Mr. Eric T. Roach, who said that fifteen more groups would bring the region up to saturation point, with every town and village in the area having its own group.

A suggestion from the Sidcup group to enable a really effective link between the groups was a region publicity and service van. The committee hopes that an old car may be acquired for this purpose.

A week-end discussion is being arranged in conjunction with the International Friendship League and the League of Nations Union at Whitson, when it is anticipated that a camp of fifty or more may discuss joint work in creating an international spirit.

A resolution to be sent to local MP's was passed by the conference.

Tonbridge

At a well-attended meeting held by the Tonbridge group, in cooperation with the local group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, on Sunday, the chairman said there could be no effective peace conference before the peoples were ready to try for peace in the spirit of true brotherhood.

Roy Walker showed how people of all schools of thought could come together on the common ground of the peace pledge without necessarily changing their political or other views.

The price of "security" was advancing rapidly—and we were still without security. If this process continued a breaking point must eventually be reached.

In his personal view, that point would be reached within five years. There were two ways out of this eventuality: we could start the war earlier, or we could try another process. The question we ought to put to ourselves was: Is there a practical alternative to pacifism?

War and war-preparation had been proved to have no practical value—they did not achieve their objects. Disarmament could not produce a greater danger than would rearmament.

Dr. Alex Wood said that in 1914 war was believed to bring good, but the threat of war this year had been accompanied by no flag-waving—only horror. War had be-

come satanic. ARP was like the sheep dog in sheep-penning trials; we were the sheep and the pen represented totalitarianism.

Mr. Watson, the Durham poet, the last speaker, said that shortly after the Great War, he saw workers in Marseilles and Naples (cities of "victorious" countries) almost fighting for bread.

LONDON

Bayswater

THE opening meeting of the special series on the psychology of pacifism, which is being given by Dr. Alfred Torrie, the Harley Street psychotherapist, at the Dick Sheppard Centre, Bayswater, was held on October 18.

Speaking on Dr. Ian Suttie's book *The Origins of Love and Hate*, Dr. Torrie recalled Gerald Heard's review of it in *Time and Tide* in which he said that this book ought to be the handbook of every pacifist.

Dr. Torrie was convinced that if a deep belief in and concern for other people were part of the pacifist's armoury he could change political situations and not least he could transmit confidence and good will to the people of other lands—notably Germany against whom such vicious propaganda had been levied.

The next meeting in the series will be held on October 25 and all PPU friends will be welcome.

Chiswick

Two hundred warm winter clothes, a hundred or more games, gramophone records, and toys, as well as £1 1s. 6d. in cash were brought to 95 Park Road, Chiswick on October 15 in answer to an appeal by local PPU members for clothes, &c., for children in Basque House.

Two Basque children, Joaquin and Begonia Ulles, whose home was in Bilbao, assisted at Park Road.

It is reported that "the result was very gratifying, though the financial result was not as great as expected." Perhaps those who had intended to send something, but were prevented, will do so in terms of £ s. d.

Edmonton

This group now meets every Wednesday at 8 p.m. in the Independent Church School-room.

It is pointed out that more *Peace News* sellers are needed as those who sold during the warmer months cannot be expected to sell for the same length of time now that the cold weather is approaching.

On November 19 the group is running a concert. It is hoped that members will support this effort to put the group financially on a sound basis. Tickets (6d. and 1s.) are obtainable from Mr. A. E. Bayntun, 108 Town Road, Edmonton, N.9.

MIDLANDS

Birmingham

THE Birmingham Council has sent a letter to President Roosevelt urging him to take the lead in calling a world conference to discuss disarmament and economic problems, and members are hoping that other groups and individuals will send similar letters.

The council is now making every effort to write to all other organizations in the Birmingham area who love peace and hate war.

A conference is soon to be held in order to discuss methods of joint action. The International Friendship League, Society of Friends, and Women's Cooperative Guilds have all agreed to send representatives to the conference.

Morley group met on October 20. A business meeting was combined with a talk on Morocco, given by Miss Emily Frisby.

Hinckley

It was decided on October 7 to form a group to run independently of Nuneaton. At present the group consists of seven members. It is hoped to hold monthly meetings and also a study group for those interested.

The Rev. G. Price-Jones, the group leader, has been instrumental in having posters displayed outside his church, and has also addressed various organizations in the district on the peace question.

NORTH-EAST

Hull

TWO incidents in connexion with the Peace Shop at Hull are of interest.

There was trouble with the lock of the Peace Shop door. A passer-by who assisted in opening it, was presented with a PPU Manifesto for his courtesy. As he took it he said "You are doing good work here. You did great things during the crisis week."

On another occasion a man was given a copy of the Manifesto and as he opened it

he said: "Thanks, I'll read this, I know what it is, I had four years of it. I'd not go through it again nor allow any one else if I could help it."

J. Van Druten's play, *Flowers of the Forest*, was read by members of the Hull group at the Peace Shop on October 21.

The play reading, which was enthusiastically received, is the first of a series arranged for this winter, of which the details will be announced later.

Will all members who are interested in play reading, please send their names to the secretary, the Peace Shop, 64 Prospect Street, Hull.

Sunderland

Suggestions or loans of exhibits from other groups for the proposed exhibition and peace week in January, 1939, should be sent to Miss May Reavley, Press Secretary, 19 Park Avenue North, Roker, Sunderland, and not to the address reported last week.

SOUTH

Farnborough

THE third new group in eight days to be added to the Hampshire Region was formed at Farnborough on October 21.

Mr. H. C. Mudge, 97 Fleet Road, Cove, who has been secretary without a group for some time, was provided with a group and Mr. Bevan, Blegberry, Windsor Road, Farnborough, agreed to become group leader.

SOUTH-EAST

Faversham

SPEAKING at Faversham on October 16,

Mr. Karlin Capper-Johnson, secretary of the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends, stressed the urgent need of an international conference for the settlement of colonial and economic questions.

Referring to Germany's intimation that she wanted a settlement of the colonial question, Mr. Capper-Johnson said that if we thought there was going to be peace in the world so long as we ruled a vast empire, and thought that others would be content with no empire, we were mistaken.

The solution of the situation was not simply in handing over certain territories to Germany, but in seeing that there was an international settlement of the colonial question.

SOUTH-WEST

Bristol

A CONFERENCE of pacifist societies, organized by the local PPU group in conjunction with the Fellowship of Reconciliation, Methodist Peace Fellowship, Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, and the Society of Friends, will be held in Folk House, College Green, Bristol, on November 6 at 6.45 p.m.

The subject of the conference will be "A Programme for a New World Conference" and it will be opened by Mr. Harold F. Bing.

North London Learns About The P.P.U.

By a "Peace News" Reporter

A large photograph of Dick Sheppard has probably been the first thing to catch the eyes of the thousands of people who have seen the Peace Pledge Union stand at the North London Exhibition in Alexandra Palace.

The stand (a photograph of which appeared in *Peace News* last week) is an attractive contrast to others in the exhibition. Except for the wooden framework, it was built by member of PPU groups in the Hornsey Region.

Though the site is only six feet square it is in such a position that it can be seen from some distance away—an advantage denied to many other exhibits.

EXCELLENT PUBLICITY

It has proved to be an excellent medium for publicity (last year the exhibition had approximately 250,000 visitors) and has already resulted in new members for the PPU.

Copies of *Peace News* are on sale, as well as PPU literature. Free leaflets are also distributed.

The exhibition closes today (Saturday) and the stand is considered to have justified the total cost of some £15. The stand is available for hire by other PPU groups for similar exhibitions.

Applications should be made to the Hornsey Regional Secretary, Mr. Gordon E. Turner, 6 Palace Court Gardens, London, N.10.

It's only a rumour—No. 3



That Lord Halifax has resolved to take holy orders. He feels that he can explain the necessity for defensive armament more satisfactorily from the pulpit of the Church.

(Broadcasting from St. Martin-in-the-Fields before he was Foreign Secretary, Lord Halifax tried to justify modern war by saying there might be worse evils).

UP THE GARDEN PATH

By
BESOM

THIS "national register" business is breaking all the rules: it's even affecting that most sacred of our national institutions—sport.

An article in *The Times* the other day was headed:

REGISTRATION OF GREYHOUNDS

MODERN WAR

An American aviation mechanic in China has revealed why so many Chinese planes have lately been reported destroyed by Japanese bombers. The Chinese keep a carpenter busy making wooden dummy planes, and at night put them in fields that look like air fields. Next day the Japanese come along and waste ammunition blowing them up.

—A. P. in *Reader's Digest*.

GOERING THE TENDER

Not until the official biography was published was it generally known that as a small boy Hermann always encouraged his dog to bite non-Aryans. As for tenderness, the official version records of Goering (a great deer-hunter) "He cares for a young deer found by his huntsman with as much tenderness as he bestows on his pet lion."

It is also recorded that the General rises daily at 7 a.m. and takes a cold shower. In case he seems depressed, his valet can always restore his jolly spirits by playing a gramophone record of the Heroes March from Wagner's *Götterdämmerung*.

—Parade.

CZECH-mating

Czechoslovakia has a new postage stamp to be used strictly on love letters. Its design is in the form of a triangle—reflecting a sadly cynical attitude on the part of the government.

—Kansas City Star.

CONSOLATION PRIZES

"History shows that out of every war some great blessing is born" said a letter in the *Daily Telegraph*. "Out of the Crimean War we got nursing, led by Florence Nightingale. Out of the Boer War we got the Scout movement by Lord Baden-Powell. Out of the Great War we have Toc H, by the Rev. T. Clayton, and appreciated by His Majesty."

COMPARATIVELY LUXURIOUS

"It has yet to be generally recognized that air warfare is a comparatively luxurious pursuit and much more suited to the aged than the coarser and rougher methods of fighting indulged in by our naval and military colleagues," according to a letter in *The Times*.

SHAME

It seems to have been overlooked that there is a definitely lower standard of conduct in war today.

—Letter in *The Times*.

From the Editorial Chair

17 Featherstone Buildings,
London, W.C.1.

FOR many years DR. DONALD SOPER has spoken on Tower Hill at lunch-time on Wednesdays, his hour being known very widely as "Question Time on Tower Hill."

Unfortunately his illness has meant that there has been no "Question Time" for his many regulars. Last week the City of London group of the Peace Pledge Union decided to try and fill the gap.

Many do not realize how very dear DONALD SOPER is to his Tower Hill crowd, and there were many anxious inquiries about him last week.

"Those of us who were present," Mr. W. G. MILLMAN, of the City group, told me, "realized how difficult was our task in filling adequately the role of substitute. However, the attempt was made—we hope with some measure of success."

"ROY WALKER opened, and was followed by JOHN BROUGHTON, who was addressing his first open-air meeting. Both speakers were well received and MR. BROUGHTON handled the questions with commendable tact and understanding."

Other pacifists within reach of Tower Hill on Wednesdays can help in this work. Last week 25 copies of *Peace News* were sold. To improve on this, MR. MILLMAN tells me, the group wants to establish a regular rota of sellers between 12.30 and 2 p.m. on Wednesdays and would be glad to hear from anyone able to help; write to him at the City group's headquarters, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4.

This week JOHN BARCLAY was the chief speaker: next week it is hoped that CANON STUART MORRIS, chairman of the PPU, will be there, if he is free.

Dr. Alfred Salter

I HAVE just had news of DR. ALFRED SALTER, MP, another Sponsor of the Peace Pledge Union who has been very ill.

Just as he was gaining strength after the original attack of thrombosis of the coronary arteries of the heart, he unfortunately suffered a relapse, which gave rise to extreme anxiety. However, he has improved again and the doctors think he will enjoy a complete recovery, though he must make very little mental or physical effort for two or three months.

Mistaken Identity

THE colleague who was writing this feature a fortnight ago, and commented on the statement in HUGH REDWOOD's article in the *News Chronicle* that "pacifism is not enough," was apparently being unfair—quite unintentionally—to MR. REDWOOD.

You may remember that, besides the phrase just quoted, also attributed to MR. REDWOOD were the words: "Pacifism is too passive: peace demands something more positive." Actually the remarks were not intended to be MR. REDWOOD's own, for they were prefaced with the words: "I have had a good many talks with ministers and laymen since last week, and here are some of the things they are saying."

As often happens in this office—since we have nothing like the staff necessary to comb all the daily newspapers—my colleague was relying on a cutting from the article sent by a reader. This cutting showed merely the "offending" words, without any indication that they were not MR. REDWOOD's own opinion, and was accompanied by a note as to their source.

I am now told that the person responsible for the sentiments quoted by MR. REDWOOD was a minister of religion and a prominent Christian pacifist.

This, in itself, suggests that MR. REDWOOD is in some degree guilty of the same fault as ourselves, for his statement that "here are some of the things they are saying" leads one to suppose that the phrases which follow are representative of the sentiments expressed by several "ministers and laymen." In this case, at any rate, this was apparently not so.

The incident does, however, serve to illustrate the wisdom—as I have pointed out before—of including all relevant details with cuttings sent to this office. Date and name of the paper are, of course, essential; but it is also important that a vital phrase should not be left out of the cutting. I am sure that readers who are good enough to help us in this way will see the need for this.

During the Crisis

WE have already reported the publicity given on the Continent to the efforts of the Peace Pledge Union during the re-

cent crisis; from a correspondent in the Argentine I have just received a cutting from the *Buenos Aires Herald* recording the fact that a PPU deputation, led by MR. LANSBURY, called at 10 Downing Street and at the Foreign Office to leave copies of the manifesto issued during the crisis. What is more, the paper in question summarized—very briefly, but fairly—the beliefs set out in that manifesto.

My correspondent tells me it is the first time she has seen any direct mention of the PPU in the Argentine.

A reader in this country has shown me a letter received by him from a friend in East Africa, who, "writing many miles away from the crisis, and having thought things out carefully and quietly, has come over to our side." His friend, a brilliant scholar now engaged on anthropological work, writes:

For some months I have been certain of the rightness of a pacifist position, and I am more than ever so in the situation that actually faces us. But it is (as all practical judgments involving any ultimate valuation must always be) a certainty of faith and not of knowledge, a certainty, that is, which admits of occasional doubt without being shaken.

I do not fully see the form of international organization which will supersede the custom of periodic warfare, but I am sure that the present impracticability of constructing it arises from social causes which a widespread pacifist protest in the next war will profoundly modify. . . .

But, having made up one's mind to pacifism, there remains the hardly less important problem of one's relationship as a citizen to one's own group if it is at war. Clearly it is best to go on quietly with the job in hand, as long as possible; but when conscription comes, what then?

I think, myself, that the true attitude is to dissociate oneself as little as possible from one's group and to be firm about two things only: 1. the refusal to participate directly in killing people or in providing the means for their destruction; and 2. the right of free speech, the right to continue protesting against the war. . . .

I think also that, in the event of war, it is enormously important for the pacifists to avoid any priggish condemnation of those who, with sincere conviction, take part in and lead the warfare. Their "militarism," though mistaken, is the product of a historical situation for which we are all alike responsible, a situation in which war seems inevitable. If we insist on believing in an apparently impossible future of real peace, though history will prove us to have been right, yet that does not allow us to despise those who cannot at the moment share our belief.

Peradventures of "Peace News"—No. 11



Hi! Charlie, when you've finished w' my *Peace News*, 'and it down 'ere.

Drawn by E. E. BRISCOE.

WAR TO THE BUTTER KNIFE

[The *Manchester Guardian* of October 21 reported that tons of shirts, silk stockings, and socks have been dropped in the neighbourhood of Burgos by Republican planes, according to reliable reports received by *Reuter*. This was intended as a reprisal to bread "raids" on Barcelona and Madrid by General Franco's aircraft.]

My hated enemy and I,
Engaged in deadly feud,
Having long fought, new methods sought
And our assaults renewed.

"The man is clearly bored with bombs,
I'll wake him up," I said.
"We'll bomb his town with white and brown
And currant loaves of bread."

I would have loved to see his face,
His anger and surprise,
When out of Heaven there fell my leaven
Like manna from the skies.

But his reprisal followed soon,
And now the rogue designs
Stockings and shirts and pants and skirts
For our defenceless lines.

Stung by this spate of underwear
I've planned my next attack:
With forty tons of hot-cross buns
I'll send his stockings back!

And if that doesn't finish him
In everyone's esteem,
My last reserves are rich preserves
And surfeiting with cream.

REGINALD REYNOLDS

Group Notes

Touring The Northern Areas

BETWEEN October 18 and 22 I visited the following towns, **Liverpool, Manchester, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Aberdeen**—meeting the groups and speaking at public meetings, as well as to many individuals representing other organizations.

I saved much time by travelling at night from Manchester to Glasgow, but lost both weight and sleep owing to a faulty "boggy coupling", which kept me awake all night!

The programme I carried out was organized by the local group leaders, and I want to thank all those who made arrangements for my hospitality and comfort. I have come back tired in body but mightily refreshed in spirit.

The PPU in the north has reserves of strength at present quite untapped. I shall work hard to tap this reservoir, believing as I do that this flood when released will sweep down south and add itself to the steadily increasing power generated at 96 Regent Street.

The cooperation of the North, South, East and West will be sufficient to raise the dead weight of armaments and conscription to give the lead to a rejuvenated democracy.

WHAT THE NORTH IS DOING

The groups in Liverpool are at present very scattered and therefore ineffective largely because they have been working as individual groups and through a narrow channel.

West Derby group is the most effective and I find that they have done more steady education work than appeared on the surface.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

New Signatures to the Peace Pledge—

Will Group Leaders receiving these please check that they are **LEGIBLE and COMPLETE** before passing them on to Headquarters?

By John Barclay

face. The University group could quickly become a power and by linking on to the City activities would give a lead which would make itself felt immediately.

I had the privilege of speaking to a number of pacifist clergy and during the two hours we spent together it was agreed to form an ad hoc committee embracing the Fellowship of Reconciliation, the PPU, and the University section. This committee would plan activities in all parts of Liverpool, and make its general work the building up of a united pacifist body capable of making its constructive policy known to all sections of the population.

In the evening we had a well-attended meeting of PPU members in the Friends' Meeting House. It was a good meeting; many questions were asked and answered. I, for one, came away feeling that a unity of purpose had been achieved which will show clearly in the formation of new groups a new inspiration. Liverpool will now begin to challenge Manchester, so far the most progressive of the Northern towns.

Leaving my suitcase behind (definitely not part of the programme) I left that night for Manchester. The great joy about the Manchester group's activities is that it is centred round a headquarters, 41 John Dalton Street. During the last six months the intensive work put in by the Manchester Headquarters had made possible the idea of forming an area organization to cover the whole of the North of England.

Sixty-seven groups within a twenty-mile radius of Manchester is a nucleus from which may easily develop important growth extending to Liverpool and linking up the two regions into a firm unit.

Permeation becomes very rapid when links of this kind are made. A new determination is being expressed to prove that "what London says today, Manchester does tomorrow".

On Wednesday evening I spoke to a meeting of group leaders and others, about 150 all told, and I caught the 1.10 a.m. to Glasgow in high spirits.

(To be continued)

The Notice Board

Meetings

Edinburgh—Every Thursday in FPU Room, 12 Picardy Place, at 8 p.m. Open-air meeting at The Mound every Sunday at 8 p.m. PPU Room open every evening except Saturday from 7 p.m. to 10 p.m.

Birmingham—Open-air meetings in the Bull Ring from 1 p.m. to 2.15 p.m. on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays.

Romford group now holds open-air meetings every Tuesday at 8 p.m. in the Romford Market Place.

Open-air meetings every Friday at 8.15 p.m. in King's Square, Barry.

Poster Parades

Volunteers are required for parades and leaflet distribution to churches in West End every Sunday evening from and including November 6. Meet outside Friends House, Euston Road, at 6.45 p.m.

Mass Parades from 96 Regent Street, November 12. Full particulars next week.

Parades from 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, every Saturday at 6.45 p.m. and 8.45 p.m.

Southend—Men are asked to send names for mass poster parade to John Long, 549 London Road, Westcliff. A hundred men wanted to show Southend the pacifist way. Further details later.

Special parades will be held from headquarters, 96 Regent Street, W.1, on Tuesdays, commencing November 1, at 6.30 p.m. and 8.15 p.m. and continuing until further notice.

Dorking—Volunteers wanted for parades today, leaving Cooperative Hall, South Street, at 5 p.m., 6 p.m., 7 p.m. and 8 p.m.

London members, reserve Saturday, November 12 for biggest poster parade ever.

Slough—Volunteers required today. Meet at 3 p.m. at the Baptist Church, Windsor Road.

"Peace News" Sellers Wanted

Swansea—Volunteers wanted on Saturdays. Write Miss D. Walton, 21 Longoaks Avenue, Uplands.

London Bridge station, November 4: **Liverpool Street station**, November 18, from 5 p.m. to 7 p.m. Names for mass selling to PPU, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1, stating earliest starting times.

Norwich—Volunteers wanted for Saturday evenings. Write Dr. Jewson, Mousehold Lane, Norwich.

Kingston group plans mass selling in **Surbiton and Kingston** on November 5. Offers of help will be welcomed and should be sent to Mr. W. Hammond, 6 Dawson Road, Kingston, or 'phone Kingston 1785.

Blackheath—Outside Roxy Cinema from 5 p.m. on Saturdays.

Miscellaneous

Bridgend, Glamorgan—Members in this district please communicate with Mr. Glyn Howe Arosfa, St. Brides Major, Bridgend, Glamorgan.

Bournemouth—Study course of nine weekly meetings on Gregg's *Power of Non-Violence*. Open invitation to join. Held at 12 Hampshire Court, The Square, Bournemouth, at 8 p.m. Commenced on October 12.

Members write on

Proposed Leaflet

The Clapham group wants to prepare a leaflet for distribution to most of the people in Clapham, pointing out that at any rate they hate war and if they do not want it to come they must work for peace.

Though making our own pacifist position quite clear, we do not propose to try in this leaflet to convert all its readers to absolute pacifism at once. We want to get some good work out of many people who are probably prepared, if we tell them how, to do quite a good deal for peace, but do not yet accept the full pacifist doctrine.

What I want from readers are suggestions for inclusion in the proposed leaflet as to what the ordinary man can do which will indisputably increase the likelihood of peace "breaking out."

Correspondence with people in other countries is an obvious thing and I shall be glad to have the names of organizations which will supply names and addresses. I want also ideas which are less obvious, but just as effective.

A. F. CLARKE.

117 Hambalt Road, London, S.W.4.

A Jumble Sale

The members of the S.W.1 group wish to thank very sincerely the many friends, who in response to the appeal published in *Peace News*, sent parcels for their Jumble Sale held on October 15.

It is not possible for us to thank every one individually as many of the parcels were anonymous.

The sale was financially successful, realizing well over £12 profit, and the Basque House and group funds will benefit from it.

STELLA W. ELDRIDGE.

60 St. George's Square, London, S.W.1.

Armistice

I should like to suggest that all groups of the PPU lay a wreath of white or red poppies on their local war memorials on November 11 with a card attached in bold lettering: *We of the Peace Pledge Union will keep faith with "The Glorious Dead."*

Also that members write to their local papers suggesting that the millions of pounds spent on armaments could be better spent on men broken in their country's service.

E. S. WANES.

56 Kenwood Road, Bordesley Green East, Birmingham, 9.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 96 Regent St., London, W.1

Phone: REGENT 2843

"Things we want you to know"

OCTOBER 29, 1938

"The Inevitable Change"

by
LEO TOLSTOY

Translated by
LUDVIG PERNO

Price 3d. net
Post free 4d.

"A CATHOLIC LOOKS AT WAR"

By NATALIE VICTOR

A searching and useful contribution to the Peace question by an Anglican . . . in so understanding a spirit that it will not offend even those who strongly disagree with the views expressed.

Price 2/6, plus postage

DISCONTINUED!—

"The Present Situation"

"The Crisis"

"The Issue"

"Is a Pacifist Political Party Necessary?"

Addressed mainly to Pacifists

Price 1d. net

"WHAT EVERY YOUNG MAN SHOULD KNOW—ABOUT WAR"

By HAROLD ROLAND SHAPIRO
Should also be read by those who send the young man to war.

Price 3/6, plus postage

"WHY WERE THEY PROUD?"

A Study of Empire

By The Pacifist Research Bureau

Price 1/- net
plus postage

"The Spectacles of Faith"

by
A. RUTH FRY

Price 1d. net

TWO NEW POSTERS

Now Ready

"Let Justice turn the scales,
demand a WORLD Conference"

Illustrated - Price 2d.
plus postage

and

"No Greater Glory than Peace"

A beautiful poster in colour - Price 3d.
plus postage

WE SHOULD BE VERY PLEASED

IF INVOICE NUMBERS, or failing that, dates of transactions, were quoted in correspondence, as failure in this respect increases the already heavy work of the Literature Department.

PEACE NEWS for resale should be ordered at
Peace News Office:

17 FEATHERSTONE BUILDINGS, W.C.1

"Force and Failure"

by
A. RUTH FRY.

Price 1d. net

The new leaflet: "A War has been Stopped," now ready at less than half cost, 2/6 per 1,000

Dear Sir

LARGER ISSUES FOR THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION

WAR can only be eradicated by the removal of its causes. The fundamental cause of modern war is not the unequal distribution of raw materials and lack of markets, but the present economic system of society.

At present we produce goods for profit. The common people are automatically prohibited from buying all but a small proportion of these goods, therefore they are offered for sale in other countries.

But today these other countries are using the self same system and most of them are trying to sell their goods in like manner.

This inevitably leads to trade agreements within empires and tariff walls against foreigners, to dumping and thence to war. Modern war is in effect the result of the breakdown of the capitalist system.

It is therefore necessary to replace this system by one which caters for the needs of all its people. It must produce for service and not for profit. After these needs were supplied international exchanges would be made.

The only way to bring this about is to transfer the means of production and distribution from private individuals to democratic ownership. The people must own and control these. (This has not been done in Russia, as many people seem to imagine.)

The Labour Party does not set out to achieve this end. It merely hopes to reform the present system.

The only party that I know of that has a real socialist programme is the Socialist Party of Great Britain, which, I believe, will remain very small chiefly owing to its materialistic philosophy, which it considers essential to achieve its end.

I honestly believe that the Peace Pledge Union is producing people who are better equipped than any others to carry out this social revolution.

We must come to it if we are searching

for the truth. We must work for it if we are going to bring real peace to the world.

GEORGE J. D. CHILVER.

8 London Road, Clapton, E.5.

Our language of "economic reconstruction," and "the settling of economic grievances by conference" and "have-not nations" does not make sense to the working man and woman.

It simply does not relate to the man's everyday life of a hand-to-mouth struggle for food, warmth and shelter, and the woman's daily round of everlasting "making ends meet."

How do we talk about real peace to Mrs. Lizzie Smith of Peabody Buildings, who does charring daily to increase her "old man's" indefinite and insufficient wage as a casual labourer, and who has six "kids" to keep fed, clean and in a general state of well-being?

The key to the solution of this problem lies in the acceptance of the mission of the Peace Pledge Union as covering larger issues than that of war.

The first cause of war is social and not international. Therefore our international policy must be accompanied by an internal one.

To my mind this is necessitated by the conviction that class war and international war are one and indivisible.

The varying schools of thought represented in the PPU can, I believe, formulate a policy on domestic and social issues which, while not being a cut-and-dried one, can be sufficiently concrete to be clearly understood by the most unsophisticated folk.

Our international policy is based upon sound principles. Our home policy must be grounded in exactly the same truths.

WILL HAYDEN.

76 Calabria Road, N.5.

The Crisis And After

THE European crisis has not yet worn itself out as popular subject of conversation. This is as it should be, for there is a danger that its lessons may be forgotten in the resumption of normal conditions. But what those lessons really are seems to vary with the political views of the individual.

Outstandingly the supreme fact revealed was the world-wide desire that war should be avoided. The outstanding characteristic of individuals and nations in the aftermath is unwillingness to pay the price of peace.

The politics of force which led up to the crisis have been resumed with redoubled vigour. The unremitting war against Germany, transferred in 1918 from the battlefield to the conference room, the newspaper and publishing office, and the church, continues, in spite of the declaration signed by Mr. Chamberlain and Herr Hitler.

On every hand people refer to the present period as one of respite merely, assuming that a war is inevitable in a few months. In the name of God and humanity—why?

If the people of the "great democracies" really want peace they cannot be led into war by any government without belying their name. Either they want war or they are no longer democracies. Peace can be had at a price, and whatever the price it is cheap; for war means extinction.

The door has been held open and we close it again to our cost. A formula has at least been found, a basis upon which all nations can meet without disagreement, and that is the love of peace and hatred of war. It is up to us to build on it a new world. The price asked is mutual sacrifice, just that and no more.

A new motif needs to be brought into political life, and that is the old one of love for our neighbour, respect for his individuality and cooperation for mutual good. The past is full of mistakes and

injustices; let us courageously confess our share in them and step fearlessly into an era of understanding and trust. The choice before us lies between this and descent into world chaos.

E. A. HAY.

Dene View, Knaphill, Woking.

"To come to a friendly understanding with Germany ought not to be impossible, given good will on both sides."

Someone said that in a letter to me the other day. It is true, but in my reply I shall point out that we are already assured of good will on the German side.

Let me quote from another letter, which I received early this month from a friend in Berlin.

I can assure you that I and with me the very great majority of our people have only one thought—to live in peace and in friendship with your country, Britain.

Without this sharpness and firmness I do not think it would have been possible to overcome the disastrous Treaty of Versailles. Now we have every reason to believe that a new life is beginning for our two peoples. It is a great joy to me personally that Britain and Germany wish to become friends.

I do not think that this development could have come about had there not been men and women on both sides who believed in this possibility, and worked for it with heart and soul.

This is of necessity an abbreviated translation. The writer is a national socialist. I may add, however, that his letter expresses not only the official point of view, but the attitude of all the Germans whom I have met.

The lack of good will is on our side—and all this unreasonable fear and suspicion. Surely it ought to be part of the pacifist campaign to root out these seeds of war. An honest attempt to see Germany as it really is, and to sympathize with the feelings of the German people would greatly help.

ENID MACDONALD.

Cushnie, Alford, Aberdeenshire.

The recent crisis has proved two things:

1. The truth of Bernard Shaw's cynical remark that bombing aeroplanes would be a factor in the prevention of future wars.

This country was not so terrified in August, 1914.

2. That we cannot have armaments, safety, and honour.

The next crisis may prove that we cannot have armaments and safety.

WINIFRED A. M. GREENFIELD.

36 Orchard Avenue, Parkstone.

Non-Violent Resistance

YOUR correspondent, S. C. W. Gill (October 22), seems to have an inadequate conception of the scope and function of non-violent resistance, insofar as he seems to suggest that it may be used by a nation at war, which of course is ridiculous. Its use in such a case would be confined to the disobedience, by pacifists, of the orders given them by the military.

If, however, a whole nation resolved to use non-violent methods against an aggressor, it is extremely improbable that they would ever be subjected to air attack. The beginning of "hostilities" would be an invasion by the enemy which, since it would meet with no violent resistance, would be carried out without bloodshed.

The non-violent resistance would begin when the invader attempted to govern the people whose country he had invaded, and it is very unlikely that civil disobedience would be met by aerial bombardment.

But even if it were, Mr. Gill is still wrong in his statement that there is no way of applying non-violent technique against air raids. If he means (as indeed he seems to) that non-violence is not an effective air raid precaution, perhaps he is right.

But non-violent methods are not directed against specific acts of violence; they are directed against the spirit which is the cause of them. By refusing to surrender to the bombing aggressor, the pacifist is resisting aggression much more effectively than if he caused more bloodshed by killing some of the bombers.

It has never been claimed for non-violence (I hope) that it is a way of playing for safety or saving our own skins. All that is claimed for it is that it is a means of resisting injustice and aggression without all the misery and unhappiness to other people which violent resistance involves.

W. DAVID WILLS.

The White House, Gt. Bardfield, Braintree, Essex.

I am surprised that Mr. S. C. W. Gill questions the use of non-violent resistance against aerial attacks. Surely such circumstances would never occur.

If a country is predominantly militarist, it will remain militarist once a war has begun and continue so at least till the armistice. Methods of violence will be used and supported by the majority.

If a country is predominantly pacifist, it has become so in time of peace and its government has professed and followed a pacifist policy.

Furthermore, as I believe Mr. Russell advocates in *Which Way to Peace?* other governments will probably have been informed—anyway, the implication will be obvious—that violence will be met with non-violent resistance.

Thus aerial bombardment would utterly waste time, money and possibly life, and inestimably lower prestige, regardless of its probably being a psychological impossibility, as Gregg suggests.

Your correspondent presumes, therefore, that a professedly pacifist country would undergo militarist attack, particularly the most brutal form of it.

Recognizing that there are limits beyond which it is both impossible and undesirable to suppress the truth, I cannot agree.

J. C. HALL.

Oriel College, Oxford.

DEMOCRATIC RESPONSIBILITY

Mr. Walker (*Peace News*, October 22) asks whether we have a democratic State. The answer is that we have a certain measure of democracy—and, small measure though it be, it is large in comparison with most States in the world in 1938.

That being so let us treat the tender plant with the greatest care and consideration so that it may have some chance of surviving in the unhealthy atmosphere in which fate has placed it.

If pacifists refuse to pay taxes whenever the Government spends money upon objects with which we disapprove, other minorities may well claim the same privilege. Vegetarians would refuse their taxes because the Government subsidizes farming. Christian scientists and anti-vivisectionists because the State spends money on hospitals and doctors.

Nor must we forget the dilemma of the teetotaler, anti-smoker, and many others whose convictions are held as honestly and firmly as our own.

Indeed, I have even heard of Tories who have threatened to stop payments because the Government "wastes so much money on pampering the poor!"

If we are all to decide our own duties to the Government the British public might soon be asking for a dictator.

PHILIP S. MUMFORD.

Farley Green Farm, Albury.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from letters.

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

"Darkness My Bride"

A REVIEWER is always entitled to dislike a book, but not, you will agree with me, to make incorrect statements about it. May I therefore call your attention to the fact that it is not correct that the young Red Army soldier whom the Englishman in my novel, *Darkness my Bride*, helps to desert and to escape from Russia, wants to go and fight in Spain, as your reviewer states (October 22).

He makes it clear that his desire to get to Spain is to find out the truth of the stories foreign journalists have told him in Moscow about the part the communists have played, in alliance with the Republican Government, in crushing the revolution organized by the anarchists, syndicalists, and the POUM. He wants to go to Spain to assist the revolutionary movement against those who seek to crush it; he says, "The Cheka has its spies—why shouldn't those whom it hounds have theirs?"

He mentions as his qualifications that he speaks perfect Russian and is a crack shot, having been trained—against his will, for he hates militarism and resents being forced to become part of the military machine—in the Red Army.

Instead of devoting a quarter of a column to the rather petty sneer at the fact that I put at the end of the book the places in which it had been written (a habit I have formed during the last few years as a matter of reference, because it is interesting to see where and when one has written something years later) would it not have been of more interest to *Peace News* readers to have quoted some of the strong anti-militarist views expressed in the book?

Incidentally if an author wrote a book in West Kensington, South Mimms (wherever that may be) and East Acton, surely "London" would be sufficient if he or she wished to state at the end where it was written; though I can see no objection to the rather interesting combination of names she suggests.

I should be grateful if you would anyhow give publicity to the correction, as the review is misleading.

ETHEL MANNIN.

Oak Cottage, Burghley Road, Wimbledon Common, S.W.19.

AMONG JEWISH REFUGEES

There is a piece of work that has been needing our help for months: that of rescuing the remainder of the persecuted and despairing Jews. Individuals are working, but we should not remain inactive as a corporate body while this evil continues, promising even worse evils (if that can be) for the future.

Immediate action is imperative if it is not to be altogether too late. The "Pacifist Cooperative" which excludes the "self-motive" and the "profit interest," described by Bert Shipley in the September 17 number of *Peace News*, is already being attempted, not unsuccessfully, on behalf of the unemployed in various localities and under various names.

The introduction of Jewish refugees also into workers' communities, whose basis is self-support and the creation of real wealth, would be a source of real enrichment.

Here is a scheme for the Peace Pledge Union (assisted by *Peace News* with an "Active Service Fund") to set going for the establishment of communities of both Jews and unemployed.

We all know there are difficulties to be faced, but if we pacifists act as human beings inspired by love, rather than as politicians and partisans, we might also succeed in making an impression on the Government in regard to the Jews.

Let us act. But if our action is "to become effective as a demonstration" (to quote Bert Shipley once more) "it must be a communal effort."

ISABEL S. H. ASHBY.

67 Stoneygate Road, Leicester.

For a Completely Unorthodox POLICY ON PEACE

READ THE

"SOCIALIST STANDARD"

Articles this month on:

Czechoslovakia—The Choice Before Us
Why Jew-Baiting?

The "Battle For Peace"

What Wars Are Really About

Write now for FREE SPECIMEN COPY to:—

S.P.G.B. (Room 33),

42 Great Dover Street, London, S.E.1.

WAR KILLED TEN MILLION MEN
INFLUENZA KILLED 13 MILLIONS
Get to know ALLYSOL

DIARY OF THE WEEK

Latest time for copy
—MONDAY—

October

28-29 (Fri.-Sat.) LONDON, W.C.1: University College, Cowser Street; National Conference on "War Preparation and Democratic Liberties"; Fri.: 7.30 p.m., Sat.: 10.15 a.m., 2.15 p.m., and 5.15 p.m. Dr. C. E. M. Joad, Neil Lawson, A. Barratt Brown, Prof. J. D. Bernal, H. H. Elvin, W. H. Thompson, Mrs. Duncan Harris, Ronald Kidd and others. Application for tickets and inquiries to: National Peace Council, 39 Victoria Street, London, S.W.1.

29 (Sat.) BIRMINGHAM: 3 p.m. Priory Rooms, Upper Priory; Dick Sheppard Memorial Meeting; Canon S. D. Morris and Herbert Whitley; Birmingham Council PPU.

BAYSWATER: 6.30 and 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52a Queensway, W.2. Film: "I Accuse"; PPU.

30 (Sun) LONDON, W.1: 12.15 p.m. King's Weigh House Church, Thomas Street; Dedication of the Dick Sheppard Memorial Club by Canon C. E. Raven, who will be the preacher at the church service at 11 p.m.

31 (Mon.) HORSEFAIR: 7.30 p.m. Broadmead Baptist Church; Dr. Maude Royden on "Palestine—A Problem for the Peacemaker"; chairman: Laurence Housman; supported by Canon Narborough, Rev. F. C. Bryan, Col. Wyatt, Dr. Elizabeth Casson, Philip Hopkins, Rev. Eric Loveday, Helen Sturge and others; Mass Peace Meeting.

HORNSEY: 8 p.m. Town Hall, Crouch End Broadway; Canon C. E. Raven and Dr. Alex Wood on "World Peace—a Reality?"; admission free; reserved seats (1s.), from William Wharton, 4 Coleridge Road, N.8; FoR and PPU.

QUEEN'S HALL: 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Memorial Concert; (see page 9).

November

1 (Tues.) PORT TALBOT: 7.30; Meeting to be addressed by Sydney Conbeer; further particulars from Rev. S. H. Spode, 6 Devonshire Place; PPU.

EPSOM: 8 p.m. Ebbisham Hall; Reginald Sorensen and Mary Gamble; chairman: Rev. G. C. Holland; PPU.

2 (Wed) YSTRADGYNLAIS: 7 p.m. Welfare Hall; Sydney Conbeer on "Constructive Pacifism: the only hope of the World"; PPU. WOOD GREEN: 8 p.m. Trinity Hall, Trinity Church, N.22. John Douglas, Douglas Wollen and Rev. J. T. Hodgson. Chairman: Mr. D. C. Leech; British Youth Peace Assembly.

KINGSWAY: 8 p.m. Wild Court; open-air meeting; Methodist Peace Fellowship.

OXFORD: 8.15 p.m. Town Hall Committee Room; Wilfred Wellock; Oxford University Pacifist Association.

3 (Thurs.) LONDON, E.C.4: 1.10 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Rev. Alan Balding on "Spiritual Basis of Pacifism"; City PPU group.

LONDON, W.1: 1.10 p.m. King's Weigh House Church, Thomas Street; Ben Greene.

LONDON, E.C.4: 5.30 p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; Edmund Cockedge on "A Plan for Community"; City PPU group.

SWANSEA: 7.30 p.m.; Wesley Mission Minor Hall; Sydney Conbeer on "Peace and the Teacher"; PPU.

LEYTON: 8 p.m. High Road Baths Hall, Bakers Arms; George Lansbury, Rev. Henry Carter, and R. Sorensen (chairman); PPU.

4 (Fri.) CARDIFF: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, 43 Charles Street; Dr. Konrad Sels (of Germany), Rev. Stanley Luke and Rev. Haydn Rees (chairman); FoR.

BIDEFORD: 7.30 p.m. Town Hall; James H. Hudson; PPU.

BIRMINGHAM: 7.30 p.m. 1a Woodbridge Road; Wilfred Wellock on "The Work of the War Resisters' International"; PPU.

BIRMINGHAM: 7.45 p.m. Bull Ring; "National Service" means National Service; Resist Conscription; No More War Movement.

MAIDENHEAD: 8 p.m. Town Hall; Lord Arnold and John E. Caffyn; chairman: Mrs. Robertson; PPU.

BAYSWATER: 8 p.m. Dick Sheppard Centre, 52a Queensway; Mrs. Blaney on "Unemployment"; PPU.

WINCHESTER: 8 p.m. Guildhall; Vera Brittain and Dr. Herbert Gray; PPU.

5 (Sat.) TIVERTON: 7.30 p.m. Memorial Hall; James H. Hudson; PPU.

6 (Sun.) SIDCUP: 2.30 p.m. Plaza Cinema, Blackfen Road; Lord Arnold and Mrs. Grindley; PPU.

EXMOUTH: 3 p.m. Y.M.C.A.; James H. Hudson and Miss K. Spurrell; PPU.

BRISTOL: 6.45 p.m. Folk House, College Green; Conference of Pacifist Societies; "A Programme for a New World Conference"; opener: Harold F. Bing; PPU, FoR, Methodist Peace Fellowship, Anglican Pacifist Fellowship, and Society of Friends.

BURNHAM-ON-SEA: 8 p.m. The Ritz; Laurence Housman on "What is War Worth?"; chairman: Dr. T. R. Tregear; Burnham Peace Discussion Group.

EXETER: 8.15 p.m. Oddfellows' Hall; James H. Hudson and Miss K. Spurrell; PPU.

COMING SHORTLY

8 (Tues.) LONDON, W.1: 7.45 p.m. King's Weigh House, Thomas Street; London Group Leaders' Meeting.

10 (Thurs.) LANGLEY: 3 p.m. Baths Assembly Hall, Vicarage Road; Conference for Clergy, Ministers and Laymen; Rev. Henry Carter and Canon Roberts (Chairman); 7.30 p.m. Mass Meeting; Rev. Henry Carter, Mary Gamble and Ald. B. T. Robbins (Chairman); PPU.

COLCHESTER: 7.30 p.m. Culver Street Methodist Church; Armistice Eve Service; Rev. Paul Cliddon, Miss Ruth Fry, Rev. W. C. Jacobs; leader: Rev. L. Tizard; FoR.

BOURNEMOUTH: 7.30 p.m. Friends' Meeting House, Avenue Road; United Armistice Meeting; John Barclay; PPU.

POINTS for the PLATFORM

Say "No"

ALEXANDER the Great remarked that the people of Asia were slaves because they had not learned to pronounce the word "No." Let that not be the epitaph of the English-speaking peoples or of Parliamentary democracy, or of France, or of the many surviving Liberal States of Europe.

—Mr. Winston Churchill, in his broadcast to the USA, October 16.

Though we do not imagine that Mr. Churchill meant them to be so, a correspondent points out that his words quoted above are very true from a pacifist's point of view, for "when the nations of the world learn to say 'No' to war they will most assuredly be casting off the largest shadow of slavery to imperialism."

Keir Hardie on War

FOLLOWING recent correspondence in this newspaper concerning Keir Hardie's attitude toward war, the following extracts from his writings and speeches, made by C. Parish, of Birmingham, are of interest:

Ambition, war, race hatred—these are for others. For the worker they should not exist.

The workers are never consulted about going to war, and for that reason alone should refuse either to countenance or take part in the fighting.

The clergyman who supports, much more advocates, war, by that very fact puts himself out of court. He, by his office, stands forth as the representative of Him who taught non-resistance, even when attacked, as an integral part of His philosophy of life.

More Trade Unionists

AT the end of last year there were 5,851,000 members of trade unions in Great Britain and Northern Ireland, according to the Ministry of Labour Gazette last week.

The increase over the previous year was 546,000, or 10 percent—the largest for any year since 1919.

A Pacifist Song-Writer?

From a Correspondent

THOSE who conduct the affairs of the BBC saw fit to ban a popular song which bore the title, *They Gave Him a Gun*.

Few who heard the lyric could have doubted the pacifist leanings of the writer.

He told the story of a little boy happily engaged with his playthings, but—"They gave him a gun." Later he grew to be a real soldier, with a real gun, and—a real grave.

The ban has now been lifted but one may well wonder: 1. Was it coincidence that the song was released immediately prior to the worst days of the crisis; and 2. Can it be that the ranks of pacifism are graced by a successful song-writer?

A 10-page pamphlet, intended primarily for the use of discussion group leaders, giving synopses of the broadcast series of talks, "Men Talking," "Class: an Inquiry into Social Distinctions," and "The Mediterranean," is obtainable from the BBC. There is also available a 20-page pamphlet giving details of talks, readings, and discussions for the quarter October to December. (From BBC Publications, 35 Marylebone High Street, W.1, price 2d., postage 1d.)

LADY READING ON JEWS' HERITAGE

Addressing a recent meeting of the Friendly Discussion Circle (For Jews and Christians) at Stamford Hill, the Marchioness of Reading deplored the shifting insidious teachings of nazism and fascism.

She spoke of the 3,000 years of Jewish history and identified the parallel thoughts of justice and truth that were the heritage of the Englishmen and the Jew.

The Rev. W. W. Simpson, who presided, mentioned the pitiful plight of the Non-Aryan Christian refugees, who, he said, were penniless.

(Continued from col. 1-)

11 (Fri.) SPECIAL ARMISTICE DAY CELEBRATIONS. 11 a.m. Regents Park, 3 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster; Mr. George Lansbury, Mrs. M. Pavitt, Canon Stuart Morris, Miss Vera Brittain, Mrs. Theo Naftel; further details later; Women's Co-operative Guild, and PPU.

BIRMINGHAM: 1 p.m. Bull Ring; Armistice Day meeting; No More War Movement.

LONDON: 7.30 p.m. Simultaneous Armistice Meetings at the Central Hall, Westminster, Kingsway Hall, Kingsway, and Friends House, Euston Road; George Lansbury, Rev. James Fraser, Mary Gamble, Muriel Lester, Canon Stuart Morris, Ray Newton, John S. Stephens and Dr. Alex Wood. Chairman: Canon C. E. Raven, Rev. Henry Carter and Prof. George B. Jeffery. Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.

Classified Advertisements

1½d. per word, minimum 2s. Box Number 6d. extra

LATEST TIME FOR COPY TUESDAY MORNING

ACCOMMODATION

To Let

ACCOMMODATION FOR ONE FOREIGN LADY; service; in Pacifist home.—16 Youngs Rise, Welwyn Garden City, Herts.

BOARD-RESIDENCE, quiet house, pleasant position; good cooking. Moderate terms. PPU and AS member.—Mrs. Vidler, 397 Priory Road, Hastings.

HOUSE, semi-detached, newly erected, 6 rooms, 45 minutes King's Cross. Rural aspect. Rent £1 exclusive.—144 Fairview Road, Stevenage, Herts.

LADY OFFERS COMFORTABLE HOME business lady or gentleman, meals as required. Garage. Five minutes London-Epsom road, off Sparrow Farm Road. Moderate. Harling, 33 The Mount, Stoneleigh, Ewell.

OAKLEIGH PARK. Facing station. Double and single room. Meals as desired. Moderate. Recommended. 47 Capel Road, East Barnet.

SOUTHWOLD.—Furnished cottage (modernized). Good opportunity peace workers. Moderate rent for winter months to careful tenants. Write, 22, South Green.

READERS

are requested to
SUPPORT
"Peace News"
ADVERTISERS
whenever possible

Congregationalists and Arms

An assertion that

those who were most vehement in their denunciation of armaments a short time ago are now equally vehement in demanding that the Government should stand up to the European dictators, even to the point of armed resistance, rather than make peace with them.

made by the *Daily Telegraph* and *Morning Post* in its report on the autumn assembly of the Congregational Union in Bradford, has been contradicted by the Rev. S. M. Berry, secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales.

Writing to Mrs. E. H. Caird, a Congregational minister's daughter, he said he thought it was a wrong interpretation, and added:

There was at Bradford, and there is among our churches generally, a very strong feeling indeed against any suggestion that we ought to do everything that the dictators demand, but there was no word at Bradford, nor have I heard a word anywhere else, about armed resistance to them.

Two Meetings Call for A World Conference

A meeting at Swindon, Wiltshire, organized by the Fellowship of Reconciliation and supported by the Peace Pledge Union, was attended by about 250 people. The speakers were the Rev. A. G. Pritchard, of Battersea, and Miss Mary Osborn, of East London.

Mr. Pritchard exposed the cruelty and futility of war as a practical peace policy between nations and advocated the way of conciliation and non-violence which never failed when applied, but had never been explored on a large scale.

Miss Osborn gave an account of how she was engaged in East London in rebuilding the characters of those whose lives had been ruined by unemployment and suffering. She pleaded for immediate and wholehearted support of a world conference and the application of peace and friendship in relation to those around us.

HAMPSTEAD MEETING

A resolution that, in view of the present unrest in the political and economic affairs of Europe and the world, the British Government should call a world conference of the nations without delay, was adopted unanimously at a meeting of the Fellowship of Reconciliation held in the Friends' Meeting House, Hampstead Heath, recently and addressed by Miss Doris Steynor, the London organizer of the Fellowship.

EDUCATIONAL

ESPERANTO. Beginners' 5-lesson postal course, 1s. Exercises corrected by experts—British Esperanto Association (Inc.), Dept. P.N., 142 High Holborn, London, W.C.1.

ST. CHRISTOPHER SCHOOL, LETCHWORTH (recognized by the Board of Education). A thorough education for boys and girls to 19 years, at moderate fees in an open-air atmosphere of ordered freedom and progress. Headmaster: H. Lyn Harris, M.A., L.L.B. (Camb.).

FOR SALE

APPLES. Choicest Ellison's Orange, 10lb. boxes 4s. 6d., 20lb. 8s. 9d. Laxton's Superb, 10lb. 6s. 6d., 20lb. 12s. Carriage paid. Supply limited, early order advised.—Castelmer Fruit Farm, Kingston, Lewes.

ILLUMINATED ADDRESSES

ILLUMINATED ADDRESSES (framed or unframed), albums scrolls, testimonials, rolls of honour, &c., from 1 guinea to 100 guineas; advice readily given by our own artists. Battley Brothers, Ltd., Commercial Artists and Photographers, Printers and Publishers, The Queensgate Press, Clapham Park, S.W.4. Telephone: Macaulay 3401.

LECTURES

"LIBERTY TODAY," by John Langdon Davies, Wednesday, November 2, at 8 p.m., Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1. Price 1s. F.P.S.I.

THE FUTILITY AND SUICIDAL POLICY OF WAR: the above address given by Captain Butcher, Royal Societies Club, St. James's St., anytime, anywhere (10 miles radius) without fee or expenses.

LITERATURE

THREE PAMPHLETS on fundamental pacifism, 5d. post free. Sample posters gratis. Northern Friends' Peace Board, Woodhouse Lane, Leeds 2.

MEETINGS

NEW DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL CLUB at King's Weigh House is being dedicated by Canon Raven after the 11 o'clock service at King's Weigh House Church on Sunday, October 30, and will be open for the rest of the day. Thereafter it will be open from 3 p.m. to 10 p.m. daily.

SERVICES

ON THE ANNIVERSARY of Dick Sheppard's death, Monday, October 31, there will be two celebrations of Holy Communion in the Crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral; the first at 7.30 a.m. and the second at 8.15 a.m. Light refreshments can be obtained afterwards at Evan's Cafe, opposite the Cathedral.

SOCIAL

BIRMINGHAM PACIFISTS' SOCIAL, Saturday, November 5, 7-11 p.m. Shakespeare Rooms, 174, Edmund Street, near Snow Hill. Music, Games, Dancing. Tickets: 1s., includes refreshments. Write: Sydney Conbeer, 113 Summerfield Crescent, Birmingham, 16.

TYPEWRITING

TYPING FOR "PEACE." Jean's Typing and Duplicating Office are waiting for any jobs you may have—large or small. Speed, efficiency, and low charges. Phone Bishopsgate 3309; 7, Broad Street Station, Liverpool Street, E.C.2.

WHERE TO STAY

DERBYSHIRE HILLS. Vegetarian food reform Guest House. Alt 600ft. For happy holiday or restful recuperation. Increased accommodation. Central heating throughout; b. and c. water in all bedrooms. Central for conferences.—A. & K. S. Ludlow, The Briars, Crich, near Matlock. Telephone Ambergate 44. Station, Ambergate (L.M.S.).

WINTER in Sunny Bognor. Comfortable bed-sitting-room with central heating. Also other rooms, with or without board. Constant hot water, warm house, moderate terms. Members of PPU especially welcome.—Mrs. M. I. Roberts, "Kodai," 46, Greencourt Drive, North Bersted, Bognor Regis.

Please hand this to your Newsagent

To
(Newsagent's name)

Please deliver "PEACE NEWS" to me weekly.

Name

Address

as from issue dated.....

Note to Newsagent:—

"PEACE NEWS" is published weekly as a National Newspaper at the retail price of 2d. It is obtainable by your wholesaler at the usual rates from the Publishers at 17, Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1.

PLANNING FOR PEACE, DESPITE THREAT OF WAR

Work of the League Assembly

THE nineteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of the League of Nations met during the last three weeks of last month, and its work was therefore overshadowed by the crisis. A summary of the decisions taken, however, has been published by the League's Information Section and shows that much work was done.

Forty-nine of the 56 member-States were represented. The following was the main business dealt with by the Assembly.

CONSTITUTIONAL QUESTIONS

It was decided that a letter from the German Government dated March 18 did not constitute a notice of withdrawal of Austria from the League.

POLITICAL QUESTIONS

Besides discussing the European situation, and the Spanish Government's decision to withdraw all non-Spanish combatants from its forces, the Assembly considered that it was desirable to introduce into the League Covenant certain amendments to effect a formal separation of the Covenant from the Peace Treaties. It recommended governments of member-States to ratify promptly a protocol containing these amendments.

The Assembly also considered cooperation between the League and non-member-States, and then turned to questions relating to Article 16 ("Sanctions") of the Covenant. There was general agreement that the military measures contemplated in this article were not compulsory. Many members had stated they did not consider themselves bound to apply the economic and financial measures, but as other members expressed the contrary view, the Assembly refrained from expressing any opinion upon the various declarations made before it.

[Our Oslo Correspondent writes:

I have previously reported that Denmark, Finland, Holland, Iceland, Luxembourg, Norway, and Sweden have declared themselves free to decide when they will apply military or economic sanctions under Article 16 of the League Covenant. They consider the Sanctions system to be non-obligatory for all members.

Finland and Sweden considered that this decision should be approved by the League, although Norway took the view that a declaration was enough. I believe the other countries approve the Norwegian view, for none of them sought the Assembly's approval; they just made declarations concerning their attitude, as did the Norwegian Foreign Minister.

Great Britain's delegate, Lord De La Warr, approved the attitude of the Scandinavian countries. This approval made a very favourable impression in Norway.]

REDUCTION AND LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

The Assembly referred to its resolution of 1937, recommending the conclusion of a Convention on publicity of national defence expenditure, and requested governments which had not yet given effect to its recommendation concerning supervision of manufacture of and trade in arms to do so before the next session of the Assembly.

BOMBING FROM THE AIR

Dealing with the protection of civilian populations against air bombardment in case of war, the Assembly declared that international bombing of civilian populations was illegal.

Objective aimed at from the air must be legitimate military objectives; and attacks on such objectives must be carried out in such a way that civilian populations in the neighbourhood are not bombed.

The Assembly reaffirmed that the use of chemical or bacterial methods in war was contrary to international law.

The work of the British Commission of Investigation into cases of air bombing of civilians in Spain was discussed, and note was taken of the Chinese Government's request for an international committee to be sent to China for a similar purpose.

TECHNICAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Assembly recognized that the political events of recent months and the recession in general economic activity, which had involved a fall in the price of primary products, rendered it difficult to pursue a concerted policy toward the relaxation of exchange control. It invited governments

1. To ensure that the measures adopted by them to stimulate economic activity in their countries would not create such disturbances in other countries as to intensify the general depression;

2. To promote international trade by the relaxation of restrictive measures, such as quotas, excessive tariffs, &c., and by the conclusion of bilateral commercial treaties;

3. In countries enforcing a system of exchange control to take all appropriate measures toward its relaxation.

It requested the Coordination Committee to keep constantly in mind the bearing of the whole economic and financial work of the League on the fundamental problem of the standard of living; it also requested the Economic Committee to maintain for another year its sub-committee on this subject.

The Assembly invited the Economic and Financial Organization to

1. Extend its inquiry into agricultural credits to countries that might consider such an inquiry useful, and in the first instance to the Argentine and Uruguay.

2. Study methods of providing medium-term credit to industry;

3. Undertake a study of the causes which have led to the harmful deforestation and soil erosion of certain areas and of the measures which governments have undertaken to check and counteract those tendencies;

4. Advise upon the fundamental principles of monetary and credit policy which might be applied in agricultural countries, and to advise upon the principles on which fiscal legislation dealing with the main categories of taxes, such as income tax, land taxes, &c., should be based;

5. Make a comparative study, in cooperation with the Health Organization and the International Labour Office of the physiological needs and the consumption habits of different classes of the population in selected countries, and to study the influence on the standard of living of different classes of taxes and of transport and distribution costs.

The Assembly noted with satisfaction the continued growth of public interest in the problem of nutrition and approved the work of the Health Organization in this connection.

The Assembly voted credits amounting to 1,750,000 Swiss francs (approximately £87,000) for the continuation of the organization of health services in China and for the anti-epidemic campaign, as well as for the normal continuance of the technical collaboration between the League of Nations and China.

SOCIAL AND HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITY

The Assembly examined the general situation with regard to the campaign against the traffic in narcotic drugs.

The Assembly found that satisfactory results had been obtained in this regard by the working of international conventions on opium and other narcotic drugs. The Assembly considered that conditions in the Far East were such as to cause serious apprehension since they might threaten the work which the League was doing to combat the traffic in dangerous drugs.

The Assembly examined the reports submitted by certain governments on the progress made with regard to the treatment of prisoners, and examined the position of aliens and stateless persons released from prison.

The Assembly paid a tribute to the International Relief Union for the work which that organization was doing to mitigate the results of catastrophes.

INTELLECTUAL COOPERATION

The Assembly recognized the importance of the two draft conventions drawn up by the International Museums Office concerning the protection of national artistic and historical treasures and the protection of historic buildings and works of art in time of war.

The Assembly expressed its appreciation of the efforts made by the International Committee on Intellectual Cooperation with regard to the use of modern means of spreading information in the cause of peace.

REFUGEES

The Assembly dealt with the problem of international assistance to refugees. They constituted a High Commissioner of the League of Nations, to enter into office on January 1, 1939, to deal with refugees hitherto coming under the Nansen International Office and the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees coming from Germany, offices which are to be discontinued as from December 31, 1938.

They provided that the High Commissioner should have a Deputy High Commissioner to assist him, who shall not have the same nationality as the High Commissioner.

MANDATES

The Assembly took note of the activity of the mandatory Powers, of the League Council and of the Permanent Mandates Commission since their last session.

The Assembly expressed the hope that the problems relating to Palestine might be solved in the near future, account being taken of all the legitimate interests at stake.

News of Note

VAN ZEELAND'S APPEAL

AFTER appealing for the removal of restrictions on international trade, in a lecture at Cambridge last week, M. van Zeeland, former Premier of Belgium, said that for understanding to be reached there must exist at least the intention to try. He thought that such an intention existed in Britain, France and the USA, the totalitarian ideology of Germany, Italy and Russia was not an insurmountable obstacle. English policy was largely formed by the free opinion of English people and he thought that that opinion was asserting itself.

LABOUR M.P. AND COLONIES

Many problems would be solved if Britain, France, Belgium and Holland, and Portugal were to offer to have all colonial territories, mandated or otherwise, controlled by an international body, said Mr. Tom Johnston, Labour M.P., last week. The only alternatives, he said, were to hand Germany back her former colonies, or to "tell Hitler to go to blazes and get out our gas masks."

PARLIAMENT OF YOUTH

A National Parliament of Youth, intended to focus young people's attention on the duties of citizenship, and preparation for them, will be held in London in the early spring. Among the patrons are the two Archbishops, Lord Cecil, Lord Lytton, Lord Sankey, Brig-Gen. Sir Wyndham Deedes, and Dame Katharine Furse.

Imperialism in Palestine USED JEWS AS PAWNS

THE suggestion that a settlement of the Palestine problem could be reached, provided Arabs and Jews deal with each other directly, and British imperialism does not exploit one against the other for the protection of its own interests,

was made by Jawaharlal Nehru, former President of the Indian National Congress, in a statement published in *Time and Tide*. We summarize it below as "a document without which the character of the British imperial system cannot be fully understood"—in the words of *Empire: A Monthly Record*.

Referring to the "studied silence of the British press about conditions in Palestine, Mr. Nehru declared:

I have personal knowledge of how news has been sent to British newspapers and suppressed by them. Many reports have reached me of the frightfulness with which the Arab population is being treated, and a mere reading of them has shocked me beyond words.

TO STOP ARAB INDEPENDENCE

The problem of Palestine had arisen since the Great War, as a result of the lavish—and often contradictory—promises made to both Arabs and Jews by Britain.

Since the War, the British Government has used the Jews for its own ends: to avoid the creation of an independent Arab State, the Jews were placed in a key position, where they had to rely on British protection.

"It is absolutely clear to me," continued Mr. Nehru, "that Palestine is and must remain a fundamentally Arab country. . . . It is equally clear that the Jews are an essential and vital part of the country and should be given protection of their rights and a full opportunity to cooperate in building up Palestine."

(His suggestion of the way in which this could be achieved is quoted above.)

The British Government's policy was doomed to failure. Terrorism would not crush the Arab national movement, and enforced partitions would be equally unsuccessful.

Jews should realize they would never get an honoured place in the country in opposition to the Arabs; but nothing would stop them from obtaining it if it were sought in cooperation with the Arabs. Anti-Jewish sentiment was growing in Asia and Africa, where it had not previously existed. It was time that the leaders of the Jews "considered this problem dispassionately in its wider aspects."

"Get Together— Or Be Ruined By Rearmament"

AMBASSADOR'S WARNING TO NATIONS

ALTHOUGH he commended rearmament "on the part of those sincerely committed to a policy of peace," the American Ambassador, Mr. Joseph Kennedy, uttered a warning against the inevitable results of rearmament, at a Navy League dinner in London on Thursday of last week.

The armaments burden, he said, was approaching a point where it threatened, sooner or later, to engulf them all in a major disaster. Although failure to arm might mean domination by others, further rapid rearming would eventually bring severe economic difficulties to all concerned as surely as would world war.

Mr. Kennedy went on to admit that the nations would have to "get together if they are to maintain a standard of living anything like which they now enjoy." The arms burden, in the final analysis, came out of the livelihood of the workers of the world.

Although it was true, he went on, that the democratic and dictator countries had fundamental diverges of outlook, there was no sense in letting these differences grow into unrelenting antagonisms. They had to live together in the same world, whether they liked it or not.

LIBERAL PARTY'S POLICY

Voicing the belief that in the Munich Agreement the Government has "surrendered to a threat of violence," and "committed the nation to this surrender without consulting Parliament," a Liberal Party Manifesto issued last week declared we must work for the establishment of a government capable of regaining the confidence of our own people and of all peoples, which the present government is losing.

It urged removal of causes of war, "not by concessions to truculence but by justice to all peoples," and expressed the Liberal Party's readiness "to subordinate mere party considerations and to cooperate wholeheartedly with men and women of all parties who realize the gravity of the time."

To avoid delay, please note that

on and after Saturday, November 5, 1938, the address of "Peace News" will be

3 Blackstock Road,
London, N.4.

You
will be doing a
**NATIONAL
SERVICE**
by helping to
circulate

MAXTON'S
**ANTI-WAR
SPEECH**

Reprinted from "Forward"
in leaflet form

Terms for Quantities

£5 10/- per 20,000
6/- per 1,000
1/- per 100

Post free from
MANAGER, "FORWARD,"
26 Civic Street, Glasgow, C.4.

PEACE NEWS

October 29, 1938

Public Affairs Commentary (continued from page 1)

Unofficial statements in the press give it to be understood that the Government has already decided to draw up a National Register which will form a kind of census of the nation based upon potentialities of war service. . . . No pledge will be broken by the carrying out of the scheme. No legislation, so far as is at present apparent, will be required. It should be completed before the general election.

So little political opposition is expected in the compilation of this register that *The Times* in its leading article suggests that party machinery shall be enlisted for the purpose:

The unit of registration, for example, might be the Parliamentary constituency which would enable all parties to collaborate through their local agents in the task. It would be entirely appropriate in a democratic country that the elected members of Parliament should take a lead in the construction of a National Register.

The Times does not speak like this unless it has very good grounds to do so. It means that it is highly probable that the National Register will be drawn up upon a constituency basis.

We are given here a line upon which resistance to this first step to conscript Britain can be organized. In every constituency, why should not lovers of peace and freedom set up their council of co-operative action and fight the political parties in this betrayal of freedom? It might well be the greatest struggle for freedom and peace that this generation has yet seen.

PEACE AND THE ARMS RACE

NOT only Germany, but Italy as well, has now expressed deep distrust and concern at the arms race now being run by the democracies, led by this country. The glaring inconsistencies of declarations of friendships and mutual respect, made at Munich, with this sudden drive for arms, poisons and vitiates the international atmosphere. It may even make the final ratification of the Anglo-Italian agreement impossible.

Sir Samuel Hoare, in his speech at Clacton, has done a little to clear the air. He repeats, however, Hitler's stupid argument that an arms race and friendship are not inconsistent, because the leaders of friendly governments may be replaced at any time by unfriendly leaders:

Herr Hitler believes in the peaceful aspirations of Mr. Chamberlain, but he fears some possible successor in office. I believe in Herr Hitler's peaceful aspirations but, like Herr Hitler, I must be prepared for some successor who may not hold his views.

Friendship between countries is not a personal attribute of the rulers, but is an expression of the policy pursued. The fact that Lord Haldane, as Minister for War in 1912, could declare that his spiritual home was in Germany, did not prevent in the very least the war that we recognize as having arisen out of the arms race which then took place.

If there is one thing that would drive the Churchills and Duff Coopers into power in this country it would be a vast new German armament programme. Is there any reason for supposing that a similar effect would not be produced by our rearmament programme, not so much on Hitler's successor but even on Hitler himself.

After all, Hitler is subject to the powers of public opinion as much as a democratic statesman, and it is the effect of this arms race on the public opinion of the world which in the end counts.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND RUSSIA

CZECHOSLOVAKIA has now denounced the treaty of mutual assistance she entered into with Soviet Russia as part of her French alliance policy. This marks the end of the power groupings which took shape in 1935, and which since then have brought nothing but insecurity and unrest to Europe and the world.

The Czechoslovak agreement with Russia was a part of a similar agreement between Russia and France. Ostensibly these agreements were within the framework of the League of Nations. In actual fact they were in direct antagonism to the spirit of the League, and it is these agreements which, more than any other factor, destroyed the moral authority of the League.

It was the ratification of the Franco-Russian alliance which led Hitler to declare that the whole balance of the Locarno

system had been upset and by which he justified his march into the Rhineland.

It was these power groupings which made "collective security" farcical because, as Hitler pointed out, "collective security" under the League of Nations with these agreements in existence, was a one-way policy always against Germany.

It was these agreements that brought the Henlein movement to the front on the cry that, if they became operative, Sudeten Germans would be called upon to fight Reich Germans.

Dr. Benesh has now left his country, of which he was for so many years the Foreign Minister. Whether history will credit him with that high statesmanship with which contemporary English sympathy credits him remains an open question.

His country and his policy have combined in themselves the Wilsonian idealism with French military "realism," and the one could not combine with the other.

Perhaps France will learn her lesson from the Czechoslovak disaster and surrender her agreement with Russia. With this power pact out of the way, a real appeasement in Europe may be possible.

JERUSALEM

JERUSALEM has been recaptured by British force of arms, and the Arab "terrorists" have been subdued. But force will never solve the Palestine problem.

The problem of Palestine is not so much one of Arab intractability as of Zionist exclusiveness. It is regrettable that Jews seem unable to see this.

The Board of Deputies of British Jews have now passed a resolution supporting the Jewish Agency for Palestine in declaring its opposition to any policy of artificial restrictions upon Jewish immigration into Palestine or the relegation of Jews in Palestine to the status of a minority. But the Arabs are equally determined not to be relegated to a minority in what is, after all, their home country.

Jews have shown that they can live in peace and harmony with other races, even with Arabs, but there seems to be so much in Zionism which makes this impossible in Palestine. We are apt to forget that Zionism is a product not of Jewish persecution but of Jewish emancipation.

ANGLO-AMERICAN TRADE AGREEMENT

THE negotiations for an Anglo-American trade agreement are making slow and difficult progress. There are constant rumours of complete breakdown, followed by denials. The fact however remains that a trade agreement, promised months ago, has not yet been completed.

British commercial policy has always been based upon the unconditional most-favoured-nation clause. It took the Americans a long time to realize that such a policy is the most enlightened, but they adopted the same principle in 1925.

Since the Ottawa Conference we now declare that the British Commonwealth of Nations is not subject to this principle and for the colonial empire we have adopted the policy of the closed door. We are, in fact, trying to make the best of both worlds, demanding the application of principles which we ourselves do not accept in relation to the British Empire. The Americans seem to be determined not to compromise their principles for our benefit.

The wonder is that the Americans have not invoked the clause in their Tariff Acts whereby they can take retaliatory action against the quite unjustifiable system set up by the Ottawa Conference.

PENAL REFORM

THE Chairman of the Departmental Committee on Corporal Punishment, Mr. Edward Cadogan, has drawn attention to the fact that its report disposes of the popular legend that corporal punishment has brought to an end certain outbreaks of crime.

As to the deterrent effect of corporal punishment, records of cases from 1921 to 1930 show that offenders only imprisoned for robbery with violence had a better after-record of conduct than those who had been imprisoned and flogged for that offence.

But the report suffers from astonishing inconsistency when it recommends that flogging should be retained for offences against prison discipline.

RECTORIAL ELECTION RESULT

"Nothing To Be Ashamed Of"

The Result

Sir Archibald Sinclair ...	579
Sir Henry Lunn ...	314
Mr. Laurence Housman ...	303

By Our Own Correspondent,
ANDREW STEWART

WHAT is the meaning of the Glasgow University rectorial election result? It is really quite clear to anyone who has been on the spot from the very beginning.

Sir Archibald Sinclair was returned on a wave of anti-Nazi hate and anti-Principal feeling, the latter arising from the banning of the candidature of Dr. Benesh by the Senate.

The large vote for Sir Archibald, who was backed by a Nationalist-Liberal-Socialist coalition was certainly surprising, but it has no significance other than that. It is not a vote for Liberalism, Nationalism, or Socialism.

Another surprise was the fairly large vote for Sir Henry Lunn, who was confidently expected by all to be at the bottom of the poll. In union circles he is regarded as having received a very much larger Tory support than his backers anticipated.

QUITE UNASHAMED

The pacifist vote I regard, quite unashamedly, as in its own way much more remarkable than any of the others. It is a straight vote for pacifism, not for any variegated policy such as the two other candidates stood for.

We now know with certainty that as a result of the last rectorial election the work done by the university group during the year, and the recent campaign, we have a solid core of 300 pacifists among the thousand-odd politically conscious students at the university.

That seems to me to be something to be proud of and grateful for. No other single party or faction can claim a reliable membership at all approximating to this. It is quite clear, in fact, that only by a coalition can a pacifist candidate be defeated.

GOOD RESULTS

The election resulted, if nothing else, in a fortnight's intensive propaganda in a "constituency" in which it will do more good than in any other.

Think of it: 500 young men and women, shortly to assume positions of importance in the Civil Service, in teaching, in the Church and in the other professions, have had our message driven home to them.

They will remember our literature and our campaign long after the largely artificial hubbub of the campaign is over.

What any disappointed pacifist must remember is that we have not been fighting merely the rectorial propaganda of the "collective security" and Chamberlain forces: we have been endeavouring to undo the insidious persuasion of the National press for a whole year.

We were all, naturally, a little deflated at the result, but on reflection we felt we had not done at all so badly as the bald statement of the result might indicate.

The following further contributions to the Rectorial Fund are acknowledged by Mr. Frank B. Middleton, of the Peace

(continued at foot of col. 4)

Community "Council of Action"

From Our Own Correspondent

THIS year's community gathering at Kingsley Hall, Bow, will be a "Council of Action" rather than a conference. The Bow meetings of last December fulfilled their hopes in the evolution of a Community Service Committee, and it is expected that the forthcoming week-end meetings of November 5 and 6 will lead on to creative results in the shaping of new "active pacifist" groups on a community basis.

The Saturday sessions will be devoted to a swift review of those directions in which the community urge has been taking shape and developing during the past year—through the peace movement, through the churches, through the activities of those concerned with the distress of the unemployed, and through the medium of small new groups and "cells."

NEED FOR ACTION

But this is intended only to lead on to the real hammering out of group plans at the Sunday extension meetings. It is felt that the time for action may well be short, that the need is urgent and that the way is open.

Action will be the call at Kingsley Hall on the "fifth" and all those interested in action are particularly invited to be present and to attend the Sunday extension meetings as well as the Saturday conference.

The Saturday meetings open at 2.30 p.m. and a tea interval will break the two sessions and allow opportunities of meeting and conversation to friends from all quarters.

Those wanting to take tea will assist the conference organizers by notifying them as soon as possible to "Chancton," Dartnell Park, West Byfleet, Surrey.

WAR RESISTANCE ABROAD

Informative group talks, arranged by the War Resisters' International group of speakers, will be held as follows:

October 29, WEST WICKHAM; Sydney P. Larcombe.

November 1, ISLINGTON Methodist Peace Fellowship; Sydney P. Larcombe.

November 4, ORPINGTON; Mrs. Roach.

Any other groups in or near London, or in the Bristol area, wishing to hear about the work for war resistance being done abroad, should communicate with Mr. Sydney P. Larcombe, 6 Cavendish Avenue, Sevenoaks, Kent, or with Miss Grace M. Beaton, War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Road, Enfield, Middlesex. Further meetings will be announced later.

(continued from col. 3)

Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.1:—

Rev. Cowan, Argyll, 10s.; N. Sidall, Cambridge, 5s.; M. Glover, Surrey, 5s.; G. E. Marsh, Swindon, 10s.; Mrs. Nightingale, Birmingham, £1; Miss Bourne, Reigate, 1s.; A. Bacon, Sussex, 1s.; Sympathiser, Glasgow, £2 2s. 6d.; F. Hellewell, Hestbank, 5s.; Anon., Wilts, 2s.; J. Hazlett, Bury, 3s.; A. Hayes, N.W.11, 2s. 6d.; Wellwisher, Sussex, £1; F. Brown, Manchester, 5s.; A. Hunter, Stoke-on-Trent, 10s.; Mrs. Vallance, Surrey, 2s. 6d.; J. Blanshead, West Croydon, 5s.; C. Ade, Eltham, 5s.; J. Harrison, Manchester, 2s. 6d.; Messrs. Davis, Nottingham, 5s.; Taunton Group, Taunton, 10s. 6d.; W. Lowe, Lancs, 2s. 6d.; D. Chatterston, Manchester, £2; Letchworth Group, 10s.; Anon., Orpington, £1; T. Everett, Bow, E.3, 1s.; PPU M/C Players, 3s. 6d.

Published from Editorial and Publishing Offices, 17, Featherstone Buildings, London, W.C.1, by "Peace News" Ltd. (registered office, 96, Regent Street, London, W.1), and printed for them by Buck Bros. and Harding, Ltd. (T.U.), Guardian House, Forest Road, London, E.17.

STOP PRESS

DICK SHEPPARD MEMORIAL CONCERT

Holders of tickets for CIRCLE please note that seats must be occupied not later than a quarter to eight, after which time they cannot be reserved.

WHERE ARMS DRIVE IS LEADING

German-Italian talks this weekend, following German warnings that present "balance" of force will not be allowed to be upset, undoubtedly direct result of renewed British (and French) arms drive. So much for the claim that "British rearmament is key of disarmament."